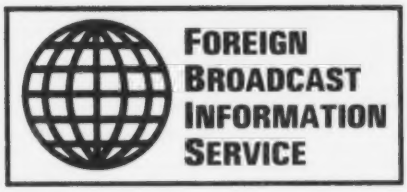

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U.S. Arms Officials Address News Conference

LD3008214088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A news conference organized by the USSR National Center for Reducing the Nuclear Danger was held in Moscow today.

[Correspondent V. Lobachenko] This meeting with journalists was devoted to a most important subject, the beginning of the practical implementation of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. It was conducted by Americans whose activity is linked with monitoring implementation of this treaty. Brigadier General Roland Lajoie is a director of the U.S. on-site inspection agency, and Lieutenant Colonel Lawrence Kelly is head of the U.S. inspection group. They both noted the Soviet side's precise observance of all tenets of the treaty. All problems that arise are being settled by representatives of the two armies in a spirit of mutual understanding and cooperation.

[Begin recording] [Kelly, speaking in Russian] A task was set which, in my view, we have fulfilled. The most important point in the fulfillment of this task is, I think, the friendly attitude, professionalism, and knowledge of your officer corps. We worked out and developed with them a single method for carrying out inspections. They displayed a high degree of professionalism and capability in all aspects.

[Lajoie, speaking in English with superimposed Russian translation] As director of the agency responsible for monitoring the Soviet-U.S. treaty, I would like to say that our side is perfectly satisfied with the positive beginning of this treaty's implementation.

[Unidentified speaker in English with superimposed Russian translation] The Soviet Union invited representatives of the public from various countries to the missile destruction at Saryozek and Kapustin Yar. Do you intend to act in the same way with regard to the destruction of U.S. missiles in Longhorn?

[Lajoie] Yes, on 8 September we have invited U.S. press representatives to our base at Longhorn, Texas. They will witness the first destruction of the U.S. Pershing missiles, which will be carried out by means of continuous firing. This is a less spectacular way than the Soviet explosion of the missiles, but just as effective. I fully support the tasks and aims of the Soviet-U.S. treaty. Since its inception, there has been a systematic elimination of mass destruction weapons for the first time in the world. [end recording]

Reception 'Beyond Expectations'

LD3008162988 Moscow TASS in English 1606 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 30 TASS—The USSR and the USA have successfully completed a series of inspections at military facilities, during which they checked on sites of deployment, numbers and classes of missiles to be destroyed in line with the INF Treaty. Brigadier General Roland Lajoie, director of the on-site inspection agency of the U.S. Defence Department, described the work of American inspectors at a news conference held here today.

The brigadier general said that the reception accorded to them at Soviet military facilities had been beyond all their expectations. The two sides worked in an atmosphere of complete mutual understanding, Roland Lajoie went on to say. His inspectors met at missile bases openness which staggered them, he added.

General Lajoie noted that he did not see in future any serious difficulties with respect to verification at the stage of missile destruction. American inspectors were present at their elimination. The USSR has destroyed 22 intermediate-range missiles and over 50 shorter-range missiles. The USA will start liquidating missiles on September 8.

In the opinion of Lajoie, in case the USA and the USSR reach an agreement on a 50-per-cent cut in strategic offensive weapons, the process of verification will be more difficult. However, these complicated problems can be resolved, he pointed out.

Lieutenant Colonel Lawrence Kelly, another participant in the news conference, participated in 15 inspections in a period between July 1, when verifications of initial data started, and up to this day. He pointed to high professionalism of Soviet Army men. The two sides, he noted, found common language on all outstanding questions and worked out common methods of verifications.

UN Official Comments on Missile Destruction

LD3008225288 Moscow TASS in English 2026 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Geneva August 30 TASS—By TASS correspondent Boris Shabayev:

In an interview with TASS, Miljan Komatina, general secretary of the Geneva Disarmament Conference, said that he and other participants in the conference had been to a "festival of disarmament," as it were. The general secretary and other members of the forum visited the Soviet Union where they witnessed destruction of another batch of missiles carried out in line with the Soviet-American INF Treaty. In his words, he was greatly impressed by on-the-spot presence at a show of practical fulfilment on the first and most important treaty on nuclear disarmament.

The importance of this trip lies also in the fact, Komatina said, that it was a specific manifestation of a new atmosphere which was setting in in international relations, an atmosphere of great trust, openness, removal of zones of secrecy, which had generated mutual mistrust. In the recent past an appearance of such a big group of foreign observers at one of the most secret military facilities would have been quite unthinkable.

As a personal representative of the U.N. secretary general, Komatina went on to say, he put a special emphasis on the presence of the U.N. in his person at the elimination of Soviet missiles. In his opinion, this shows an inseparable link between what is taking place in bilateral relations (in this case between the USSR and the United States) and the international situation as a whole. This underlines the growing role of the U.N. in tackling problems of the present-day world.

The very spirit and direction of the Soviet-American treaty, at the implementation of which the forum participating were present, fully conform to the tasks of the disarmament conference and its eventual aim of coming to peace with the last possible quantities of weapons, he said. Implementation of existing understanding between the USSR and the United States and achievement of new agreements on nuclear disarmament should eventually and inevitably draw into this process other nuclear powers and after that—the entire world community.

In conclusion the general secretary pointed to the deep symbolic meaning of the fact that the destruction of missiles which they witnessed, took place on legendary soil of Volgograd which had been covered with glory by defenders of the city on the Volga, who had shed their blood on it. It was in the area where one of the greatest and decisive battles of the Second World War had been fought. The general secretary and other forum participants clearly understood that the dream about a world without weapons and wars could become a reality.

U.S. Detonates Underground Nuclear Device

LD3108072488 Moscow TASS in English 0709 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Washington August 31 TASS—The United States detonated an underground nuclear device at the Nevada test site on Tuesday.

The U.S. Department of Energy announced that the detonation was aimed at testing military hardware. The yield of the nuclear explosive device was not reported.

Gerasimov Holds Foreign Ministry News Briefing

Denies Bombers Sent to Afghanistan

AU3108082488 Paris AFP in English 0816 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow, Aug 31 (AFP)—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov denied Wednesday U.S. charges that Soviet bombers had been sent into Afghanistan to defend the northern City of Konduz while it was under siege by Muslim rebels.

Contacted by AFP, Mr Gerasimov said "none of our bombers have gone into Afghanistan". He also denied that Soviet soldiers, who are withdrawing from Afghanistan under Geneva accords, had returned to fight.

The U.S. State Department had accused the Soviet Union of violating the Geneva accords by sending aircraft based on Soviet territory on bombing runs over Konduz.

The strategic city was seized two weeks ago by the rebels fighting the Communist authorities of Mr Najibullah, but the Afghan leader later said the city had been recaptured by government forces.

According to State Department spokesman Phyllis Oakley, fighting was continuing around Konduz.

The Geneva accords, signed on April 14 by Kabul and Islamabad with the United States and Soviet Union as guarantors, call for an aid cut-off to both sides in the conflict—involving Soviet support to the government forces, and U.S. and Pakistani aid to the Afghan rebels.

Notes CSCE, Pact-NATO Talks

LD3008141988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1301 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow, 30 Aug (TASS)—The Vienna meeting of representatives of states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe has resumed its work after a 3-week break, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said today at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists. So far, about 90 percent of the text of the final document has been agreed; the document is being developed on the basis of the draft presented in May by neutral and nonaligned countries. Specifically, nearly all clauses of the human rights section have been agreed. Only a few issues from "the second basket" (trade and economic, scientific and technical, and ecological cooperation) and "the third basket" (contacts between people, information, culture, and education) have not yet been agreed. The military section, including the issue of continuing the talks on confidence measures (i.e. actually continuing the Stockholm conference) is close to being agreed. The coordination of specific agendas and places for holding about 10 all-European conferences on various issues, to take place during 2 or 3 years following the Vienna talks, is under way.

The USSR Foreign Ministry representative noted that, on the whole, the situation at the Vienna meeting is such that, given the delegations' goodwill and purposeful efforts, work could be completed in a few weeks and the meeting could be concluded in October-November at the level of foreign ministers of the 35 member countries. The Soviet delegation has instructions to move toward this aim.

On 5 October, G. Gerasimov continued, the consultations of the 23 countries of the Warsaw Pact and NATO on working out a mandate for future negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, which are being held in conjunction with the Vienna meeting, will be resumed. Here, too, a certain progress can be seen. Most of the elements of the mandate (the aims, questions of monitoring and exchanging information, questions of organization and the procedure for talks, and others) have been agreed, and the decision to begin the talks themselves this year has been recorded.

There has been progress on the question of the subject of the talks, that is, which specific arms should be examined, including those types which can use both conventional as well as other charges. This question, and another which has not yet been fully resolved—on the precise zone of reductions—should be agreed in the forthcoming weeks.

What will a successful completion of the Vienna meeting amount to?

—For the first time within the CSCE framework, large-scale talks on reducing armed forces and armaments on all European territory from the Atlantic to the Urals.

—The talks on measures aimed at strengthening confidence and on security and disarmament in Europe will be continued.

—For the first time a mechanism of cooperation and consultations of the 32 states in the area of the human dimension of the Helsinki process is being created, which will include bilateral cooperation between states, and also a conference consisting of three meetings on human rights, contacts between people, and other issues of humanitarian cooperation. The proposal to hold an all-European humanitarian conference in Moscow, which was presented earlier by the Soviet Union, is being considered within this context.

—About a dozen all-European conferences on specific problems, including in the sphere of economics, ecology, information, etc., will be held.

The Vienna meeting is on the home stretch, and should cover it at the appropriate pace.

Welcomes Talks on Cyprus

LD3008134988 Moscow TASS in English 1308 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 30 TASS—The Soviet Union welcomes the understanding reached at the Geneva talks between President Yeoryios Vasiliou of the Republic of Cyprus and Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktas on a resumption of talks on a political settlement of the Cyprus problem, the briefing was told today by Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

We note the positive role, which was played in arranging for and holding of that meeting by the U.N. secretary general who is carrying out a goodwill mission for a Cyprus settlement in keeping with the mandate of the Security Council. It is gratifying that both Cypriot leaders have reached unanimity about the need for showing respect for each other's concerns and discussed in the spirit of goodwill the ways for ending them, the spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry said.

We would like to hope that the intercommunal dialogue due to be resumed on September 15 will put the Cyprus issue on the path of a just political settlement that would meet the interests of all citizens of Cyprus both Greeks and Turks and contribute towards eliminating all seats of tensions and improving the situation in Cyprus and around it.

Notes Katyn Memorial Plans

LD3008144188 Moscow TASS in English 1416 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 30 TASS—Work is under way at Katyn, Belorussia, to build a memorial complex there, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman disclosed today.

Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, said a solemn mourning ceremony will be held at the site on September 1, an anniversary of the start of the Second World War.

A commemorative slab is expected to be unveiled there with the inscription: "A memorial complex to Polish officers who perished at Katyn and a monument to Soviet prisoners-of-war will be erected in this place".

An official Polish delegation is arriving for the ceremony. Wreaths will be laid at the site where Polish officers lie buried.

The delegation is expected to place a wreath also at a memorial complex outside Lenino. It is there that a Polish division raised in the USSR and named after Tadeusz Kosciuszko gave its first battle together with Red Army troops to Nazi invaders.

Disavows Pakistani Plane Downing

LD3008145588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1426 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow, 30 Aug (TASS)—"I have to refute all insinuations attempting to link the Soviet Union with what happened to the Pakistani president's plane," said Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at a briefing today. He spoke in connection with a report distributed on Monday by the AP Agency which distorts the essence of what was said by Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy USSR minister of Foreign Affairs, in a conversation with U.S. Ambassador Jack Matlock on 19 August, several days before the catastrophe with the C-130 plane as a result of which the Pakistani president died.

"No threats were uttered regarding the president or the country," G. Gerasimov went on to say. He quoted the words of Yuliy Vorontsov to the U.S. ambassador: "The meaning of the assertions regarding our alleged threats to Pakistan evades us. We are warning the Pakistani Government that should it fail to stick by the Geneva accords, the latter will lose any value they might have otherwise. But threats regarding him have been never made anywhere."

During that conversation, Yuliy Vorontsov resolutely declined attempts by the U.S. side to treat Soviet statements as threats to Pakistan, G. Gerasimov said.

Assesses Mid-East, Africa Issues

LD3008152188 Moscow TASS in English 1454 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 30 TASS—The Soviet Union welcomes talks between Iran and Iraq, which opened in Geneva on August 25 with the participation of the U.N. secretary general, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said today.

Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, was speaking at a briefing for Soviet and foreign correspondents.

"Progress has started along what is an uphill and possibly difficult, but the only right way to peace and good-neighborliness in the Persian Gulf area," he said.

Gerasimov added that the Soviet Union would keep supporting the efforts of the U.N. secretary general to settle the Iran-Iraq conflict.

Commenting on the Security Council's expressed grave concern about the continuing aggravation on occupied Palestinian territories, the Soviet spokesman said:

"One would still like to hope that in Israel they will finally realize the disastrous effects of relying on power politics which are only fraught with further exacerbation

and even more confrontaton and violence in that region and can ensure neither peace nor security for the Israeli people and the State of Israel."

Commenting on the completed fifth round of talks in Brazzaville on a settlement in the south-west of Africa between Angola, Cuba and South Africa with U.S. mediation, Gerasimov stressed the need for all the participants in those negotiations to show good will.

"Our Angolan and Cuban friends have demonstrated it with their practical proposals. Everything now hinges first of all on South Africa," he said.

The spokesman refuted claims by the Nigerian magazine HOTLINE that the Soviet Union is using a factory building project at Ajaokuta to bury radioactive wastes there.

"We have buried no radioactive wastes on the territory of Nigeria," he said. "Our handling of equipment containing radioactive isotopes has conformed to international rules, in particular IAEA standards."

Gerasimov denied as a wrong, invented report also a story published by THE NEW YORK TIMES on August 28 and alleging that the chief of the Soviet Army's chemical forces on a recent visit to Syria has discussed possible cooperation between the USSR and that country in chemical weapons production.

The Soviet Union, the spokesman declared, was not passing chemical weapons to anyone and was not instructing other countries on how to build such weapons.

He denied Western press allegations that Cuban troops are using Soviet-made chemical warfare agents in Angola.

Answering a question from REUTER, the spokesman said that the trial of Yuriy Churbanov and a group of his accomplices will open in the building of the USSR Supreme Court on September 5 and be conducted by the military collegium of the USSR Supreme Court.

According to some estimates, the trial is expected to last approximately one and a half or two months. Some 200 witnesses will be called to testify there.

Views ABM Treaty, Arms Reduction

LD3008154388 Moscow TASS in English 1522 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 30 TASS—Speaking today at a briefing in Moscow, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said that the drafting of a Soviet-American treaty on a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive weapons was in progress. The Soviet delegation, he noted, is consistently pursuing the line for achieving compromise solutions of remaining problems, for instance, the problem of accounting air-based cruises on heavy bombers and control over sea-based cruises. Attempts by the U.S. side to review a formula agreed on at the Washington summit on observing the ABM Treaty in a form, as it was signed in 1972, and non-withdrawal from it during an agreed period, remain a serious obstacle at the talks.

Problems cropping up in this connection have become a subject for discussion at the important Soviet-American meeting which is now under way in Geneva and which is devoted to examination of the operation of the ABM Treaty. The Soviet side seeks to strengthen the treaty which is of key importance for ensuring further progress in disarmament and for preparation of a treaty on cutting strategic offensive weapons.

The third round of major Soviet-American talks on limitation and discontinuation of nuclear weapons tests, which have started in Geneva, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman went on to say, will examine the results of the joint experiment on control. The first such experiment took place in the USA in August, and the second one will be carried out in the USSR in September. The talks will also consider draft protocols to the "threshold" treaties of 1974 and 1976 on limiting underground nuclear explosions. Their agreement would enable the sides to ratify the above treaties without delay. However, the main aim of the talks is further limitation and discontinuation of nuclear tests.

Last but not the least, meetings of the disarmament conference are held in Geneva. The Soviet Union pins the greatest hopes in connection with the conference on the question of completing the work on a convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons. "We hope for the earliest progress in this sphere," said the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman. Agreement and staging of an international experiment on testing regular international control over non-production of chemical weapons by civil industry are to help in this work.

United States & Canada

Article in Daily Blames U.S. for Cold War

PM3008153588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Aug 88 Second Edition p 6

[Lev Bezymenskiy and Valentin Falin article: "Who Unleashed the 'Cold War....' Documentary Evidence"—first eight paragraphs are boxed introduction printed in boldface]

[Text] **Sharp turns indicating qualitatively new stages in the human community's political, social, and moral development are known not only in history but in attitudes toward it. It can be asserted with sufficient reliability: When civilization transcends the popular trust in strength, everyone will agree that the "cold war"—one of the most dismal chapters of the 20th century—was primarily the offspring of human imperfections and ideological prejudices. There was absolutely no need for it. Nor would it have happened had people's behavior and states' actions conformed with their words and declarations. Always and in everything.**

Nonetheless, the "cold war" descended upon mankind. The truly unique opportunity to build a lasting peace for many generations which emerged following the routing of the aggressors in World War II remained unutilized. Could it be that the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition had overestimated their own potential? Or was it that, along the path to stable peace, they were surprised by the emergence of circumstances of which the USSR, the United States, and Britain were unaware in Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam?

Each of these and other such questions can be categorically answered: The "cold war" was unleashed because some people wanted it very much. It was wanted by those who were impatient to replace the claimants to world domination who had just been knocked out of the saddle and to shape "at least 85 percent" (in H. Truman's words) of the world according to the U.S. model.

It is legitimate to ask: How was it that yesterday's allies in combat, having only just seen for themselves the high cost of neglecting opportunities to cooperate for the sake of peace, suddenly turned into enemies who found the whole planet not big enough for them? What prompted them to compound past mistakes and add to them a multiplicity of newly invented ones? This was contrary to common sense, let alone the duties of allies and elementary ideas of propriety.

All this is correct, provided one disregards the fact that the "cold war" was not unleashed suddenly. No matter how paradoxical this might sound, it was born in the crucible of the "hot war" and left highly discernible marks on the course of the latter. Alas, too many people in the United States and Britain perceived collaboration with the USSR in the struggle against the aggressors as something forced upon them, something contrary to their commitments and interests, secretly—and some of them even openly—dreaming that the battles which London and Washington only observed for a long time would exhaust the strength of Germany and, even more so, of the Soviet Union.

No, they did not just dream, they actually worked out behind tightly closed doors strategic and tactical options calculated to gain a "decisive advantage" at the final stage of the war, when the time would come to sum up the results, and to actively utilize this advantage against the USSR, which Admiral W. Leahy (an associate of F. Roosevelt and confidant of H. Truman) had since 1943 been describing within "his own circle" as no less than "the new aggressor." In 1944 the leaders of the U.S. Armed Forces started getting ready for the "inevitable" World War III against the "totalitarian aggressor state" and correspondingly built up the numbers of their forces for future occupation, especially of Germany.

H. Hopkins, an advisor to F. Roosevelt, wrote in 1945 that some people across the ocean "would very much like to see our (U.S.) armies crossing Germany and starting a war against Russia following Germany's defeat." Who knows how events would have unfolded in reality had the situation not been complicated by the unfinished war against Japan and the need for the Red Army's help in order to, according to estimates at the time, "save up to 1 million American lives."

Complete opening up of the archives will probably go some way toward filling in the picture and making possible a more accurate interpretation of past events. But black will remain black and white will remain white. We, of course, will also have to ask ourselves—time and again—whether the Soviet response was always commensurate with the actual and potential challenges to our state. Here there is food for thought, without, however, yielding to the temptation to seek the truth "somewhere in the middle" and to metaphysically divide in two the blame for all prewar and postwar complexities, tribulations, and tragedies, let alone to load these sins on Stalin and Stalinism just for the sake of "breaking" with the past. Such a method would not augment knowledge or political wisdom. At best it would replace one half-truth with another, perhaps an even less deserving one.

1. And so, the "cold war." This term was first used in 1947. It was used to describe the state of political, economic, ideological, "semimilitary," and other types of confrontation between states and systems. John Foster Dulles, one of the chief theoreticians and practitioners of the "cold war," preached that "brinkmanship" was the supreme strategic art for the United States. One of Washington's government documents of that time explains for clarity's sake: "Cold war" is "a real war in which the survival of the free world is at stake."

War is war. Prohibitions are either nonexistent or are devalued and turned into ritual formalities, in the same way that the fulfillment of alliance accords and pledges is merely formal if the partner's thoughts and actions are motivated by naked calculation. In order to clarify what we are talking about, we have to take a few steps back in time.

Since June 1941 the Soviet Union had been mauling Nazi Germany's ground and air forces in the hardest of duels. President F. Roosevelt used the words "the greatest support" to describe the "Russian front."

According to an admission by Robert Sherwood, Roosevelt's biographer and aide, the great battle on the Volga "changed the entire picture of the war and the prospects for the immediate future. As a result of one battle—which, in terms of time and the incredible amount of losses, was virtually equal to a separate major war—Russia joined the ranks of great world powers, to which it had been entitled for a long time...." The Soviet victory at Kursk Bulge dispelled all doubts about the war's outcome in Washington and London. The collapse of Hitler's Germany was now only a matter of time.

But time is not neutral. It can be used in different ways. Bellicose politicians and politically motivated military leaders, leading ideologists and political scientists in the corridors of power on the banks of the Thames and the Potomac were more frequently addressing a delicate topic: Had the anti-Hitler coalition served its purpose, was it not time to sound an anticommunist rally?

Liddel-Hart, a renowned British authority in strategic planning, reported in a secret memorandum to W. Churchill (October 1943): By an irony of fate, the might which the British intended to crush because it represented a huge obstacle in their way to victory is at the same time the mightiest bulwark of the West European structure. Liddel-Hart called for going beyond "the framework of the immediate task, which has essentially been achieved (Germany's offensive potential had been crushed) and to show some concern for ensuring that the long path to the next goal is cleared of the dangers which are already quite distinctly looming on the horizon."

An exercise in rhetoric? Liddel-Hart supported, true enough somewhat belatedly, the position held by figures who feared a democratic outcome of World War II. And since the entire situation was serious, according to a document submitted by the U.S. Office of Strategic Services (OSS) for the attention of the Quebec conference between F. Roosevelt and W. Churchill (August 1943), the OSS suggested three options for action:

"1. To immediately attempt to settle our differences with the Soviet Union and concentrate attention on the common interests we share with this power.

"2. The United States and Britain continue to pursue for some time a strategy and policy independent of the Soviet Union's strategy on the most important issues, in the hope of thus gaining both Germany's defeat and the consolidation of their positions through the settlement of certain differences with Russia.

"3. To attempt to turn against Russia the entire might of undefeated Germany still governed by Nazis or generals."

The authors of the memorandum made a significant reservation to the effect that the betrayal, if the "third alternative" were to be chosen, would not proceed smoothly. Why? First, it would not be easy to convince the British and U.S. public of the need to break with the USSR. Second, since it would be possible "to vanquish the Soviet Union only by force," the Anglo-Saxon powers would later have "to tackle once more, and without Russia's help, the difficult and perhaps impossible task of defeating Germany."

We read in the Quebec protocol that conference participants Generals Marshall and Arnold and Admirals Leahy and King (United States) and Britain's military leaders Brooke, Pound, and Portal tried to work out whether "the Germans would aid" an invasion of Germany by Anglo-American forces "in order to repulse the Russians." Regardless of the decision—which was, fortunately, negative—the very fact that the question of the methods and timing for the betrayal of an ally and the cause of the anti-Hitler coalition was discussed, speaks for itself. They refrained from betrayal. Could it have been because experts in Washington and London predicted that the USSR would have finally exhausted its offensive resources by the spring or summer of 1944? That was the time of the planned invasion of Europe.

Soon our allies had to take a cold shower or two. By opening the second front in June 1944, they were finally in a position to experience not in theory but in practice the extent of the war burden borne for 3 endless years by the Soviet people. Some were filled with admiration and gratitude, others suffered a recurrence of past fears, suspicions, and hatred for the USSR.

2.

At the closing stage of the war the rivalry between two trends in U.S. and British politics was sharply exacerbated. Circles yearning for a separate peace with "conservative" Germany and an end to the war before "the Russians enter Europe" came out in the open. Special operations were planned to establish Western military control over Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania. "I wanted very much," Churchill recalled after the war, "for us to beat the Russians to some parts of central Europe."

What is very indicative in this context is the conflict around the "Wolf affair"—the talks between U.S. and British plenipotentiaries and SS Obergruppenfuehrer

Wolf in Switzerland (March-April 1945). Western literature often describes the "Wolf affair" as "the first 'cold war' operation." According to estimates by Allen Dulles, who dealt with the Nazi representative, the German command would have handed Austria and some other "territories" over to the United States and Britain. Had everything snowballed as planned, the capitulation of the Wehrmacht grouping in Italy would have been followed by the opening up of the entire western front to the Anglo-American forces while maintaining and stepping up resistance against the Red Army's offensive.

It may be added that the "Wolf affair," "more correctly the Wolf-Dulles affair," was the largest operation against F. Roosevelt and his course, an operation launched while the President was still alive and designed to disrupt the fulfillment of the Yalta agreements. Addressing a joint session of Congress 1 March 1945, Roosevelt emphasized: "The world we are building cannot be an American or a British world, a Russian, French, or Chinese world. It cannot be a world of large or a world of small countries. It must be a world based on joint efforts by all countries...." There must be, the President said, "an end to the system of unilateral actions, exclusive blocs, spheres of influence, balances of power, and all these and other such methods which have been used for centuries, always unsuccessfully." The world outlined by F. Roosevelt was not at all to the liking of the reactionary faction that was gathering strength in Washington.

President F. Roosevelt died suddenly 12 March 1945. Literally the next day liberalism and readiness to take other peoples' interests into account became qualities to be condemned in Washington.

At a White House conference on 23 April 1945, Roosevelt's successor raised doubts about the usefulness of any agreements with Moscow. "This (Soviet-U.S. cooperation) must be broken now or never...," he declared. Truman believed that "the Russians" only obstructed the United States and the latter could manage perfectly well without mutual understanding with the USSR. G. Marshall and others in the military took pains to make their new commander in chief see reason. They agreed that relations of alliance with the USSR would be terminated following Tokyo's capitulation.

Let us note that H. Truman displayed his heated temperament until he was admitted to the secrets of the "Manhattan project." The President learned about the work on the atom bomb on 25 April, from a verbal report by Secretary of War H. Stimson and Project Administrator General L. Groves. The meeting lasted 15 minutes, and the President grasped its essence thus: The United States had at its disposal something that would give it a monopoly in world affairs. It was during this quarter of an hour, a U.S. research worker notes, that the bomb turned into the "dominant factor of postwar planning" by Washington.

3.

Today we have an opportunity to establish day by day and even hour by hour the chronology of the Truman government's nurturing of the seeds of the "cold war"—seeds which produced many poisonous shoots. Let us turn to genuine American documents—the diaries of President H. Truman, G. Kennan's "long cable" from Moscow to Washington, and the plans of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) and its subunits: the Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC), the Joint Military Planning Committee, and the National Security Council (NSC), which was set up in 1947.

It was the beginning of 1945. Roosevelt was still alive. The Joint Chiefs was headed by Admiral Leahy, who often differed with the president, particularly on questions of relations with the USSR. And yet the analysis document "Soviet Capabilities and Intentions in the Postwar Period" (JIC 80 of 6 January 1945) stated that the USSR would give highest priority to economic rebuilding and restrict itself to the "classic aim" of rebuilding, avoiding international conflicts and the "cordon sanitaire" around its borders. These assessments are repeated in the fundamental document JIC 250/1 of 31 January 1945. The Soviet Union, it stresses, "should and will, at any rate until 1952, avoid conflicts with Britain and the United States," since, following the end of hostilities in Europe, the USSR has "neither the resources nor, in the context of determining economic factors, the potential to conduct an adventurist foreign policy which, from the standpoint of the Soviet leaders, could entangle the USSR in a conflict or an arms race with the great Western powers."

Just a few months later, on 9 October 1945, the Joint Chiefs (Document 1545) sounded the alarm: The Soviet Union was ascribed the "ability to capture all Europe now or by 1 January 1948," by sending in "40 divisions." It would cost Moscow nothing to include Turkey and Iran in its "sphere of influence" along with Europe. The client had asked for the dramatic element to be laid on thick. No problem. The obedient servants ascribed to the USSR a potential that would allow it to reach and cross the Pyrenees at one go, and in Asia to capture China.

We read on and discover how the compilers of the memorandum relished the USSR's "weaknesses," stressing the protracted time that would be needed to overcome them:

"a) Military losses in manpower and industry, a lag behind developed industry (15 years).

"b) Lack of technical resources (5-10 years).

"c) Lack of a strategic air force (5-10 years).

"d) Lack of a navy (15-20 years).

"e) Poor condition of railroads and military transportation—systems and equipment (10 years).

"f) Vulnerability of oil reserves and vitally important industrial centers to long-range bombers.

"g) Lack of an atom bomb (5-10 years, possibly sooner).

"h) Opposition in the occupied countries (for 5 years).

"i) Numerical military weakness in the Far East, particularly naval forces (15-20 years)."

How does all this tie in? Quite simply—the weak may become strong. Why wait? Why not forestall a hypothetically worrisome development while the planned victim is vulnerable?

Let us look at JCS Document 1496/2 of 19 September 1945. It was drawn up 2 weeks after Japan's unconditional capitulation: "When it becomes clear that the forces of a potential enemy are being readied against us, we cannot allow ourselves to be the victims of a first strike because of our false and dangerous ideas about the impermissibility of aggressive actions on our part!" "If necessary, all preparatory measures for inflicting a first strike!" (by the United States) should be taken.

A preemptive, preventive, destructive first strike became an obsession. In order to ensure that the strike was fatal, devilish schemes for the simultaneous use of atomic, radiological, chemical, and bacteriological weapons were drawn up. NSC Directive 68 (14 April 1950) justifies this—without exaggerating—evil scheme by stating that "at a time of modern weapons systems the military advantage afforded by a possible first strike will be more and more important, and for us (the United States) this indicates a need to be in a state of readiness whereby, if attacked, we can strike back with full force, and, if possible, do so even before the Soviet strike is actually carried out."

The readiness for an aggressive war and the mood for a nuclear orgy turned into a means of existence. A rapid process of militarization involving the economy, ideology, and social outlook was under way. The concepts of tolerance, equality, and mutual advantage went out the window. Washington went into a great-power trance, bringing the other Western countries into it too.

4.

The first document in the extensive series of developments aimed directly against the USSR was JIC Memorandum 329. It was written on 4 September 1945, the day after World War II officially ended. The memorandum sets the task of:

"Selecting the 20 or so most important targets suitable for strategic atomic bombing in the USSR and the territories controlled by it."

The targets in question, the explanation pointed out, are "a number of mixed industrial regions with a very high concentration of scientific and research centers, specialized industrial enterprises, and the main government and administrative apparatus. This choice will make the greatest use of the potential of atomic weapons." Further on is a list—Moscow, Gorkiy, Kuybyshev, Sverdlovsk, Novosibirsk, Omsk, Saratov, Kazan, Leningrad, Baku, Tashkent, Chelyabinsk, Nizhniy Tagil, Magnitogorsk, Perm, Tbilisi, Novokuznetsk, Groznyy, Irkutsk, and Yaroslavl. Some 13 million Soviet people were condemned to death. You will note that the list does not include Kiev, Minsk, Kharkov, or Stalingrad—at that time they had already been turned into ruins, not by the Americans, it is true.

These outlines were clarified and supplemented in plans 329/1 (3 December 1945) and 432/d (14 December 1945), and the latter bluntly stated that the U.S. side had a "decisive" edge because "the USSR currently has no opportunity to cause similar destruction to U.S. industry."

With every passing month the war plans became more and more sophisticated as U.S. arsenals grew. Here are the code names given to the sword of Damocles hanging over the Soviet Union and the "territories controlled by it": "Pincher" (1946), "Broiler" (1947), "Grabber," "Eraser," "Double Star," "Half Moon," "Frolic," "Intermezzo," "Fleetwood," "Sizzle" (all 1948), "Dropshot," and "Off Tackle" (1949).

Let us say a few words about some of them. Take the experimental "Pincher" plan. Apart from anything else, it envisaged that an attack on the USSR would be carried out using bases in third countries—Turkey, Italy, and China— without notifying their governments of Washington's intentions, of course.

The "Broiler" plan: The scale of aggression had expanded and, correspondingly, bases in Britain, Egypt, India, and the Ryukyu Islands would be involved in the operation.

The "Dropshot" plan envisaged the whole planet as a battlefield. It seems that its compilers entertained the illusion that it would not be the final battle.

Whereas the JIC 329 series documents envisaged the bombing of 20 Soviet cities, the 1948/49 documents were geared to the destruction of 70 urban centers. The "Dropshot" plan earmarked 300 atom bombs and 29,000 metric tons of "conventional" bombs for 200 targets in 100 cities, in order to annihilate 85 percent of Soviet industry at a stroke. Some 75-100 atom bombs were set aside for disabling Soviet strategic aviation airfields.

This is too gentle a description for misanthropic barbarism dressed up in letters, figures, and schemes. The "Pinchers," "Erasers," "Off Tackles," and "Dropshots" sit just as uneasily with the conventional interpretation of the term "cold war." With a great leap of the imagination it is possible to correlate the state of the world to the psychological warfare waged by the United States, from 1945 through 1947, against the USSR, the international workers movement, and the national liberation struggle. We recall that Congress was each year making a

great show of allocating hundreds of millions of dollars for "subversive work on Soviet territory," in addition to the tens of billions spent illegally for the same purpose.

It is hard to shake off the impression that Washington was arranging great numbers of provocative forces around us with a view to making Moscow blow a fuse, thereby providing an excuse to bring into play one of the ready-made plans for "deliberately drawing the Soviet Union into a war in the very near future" with a view to "possibly winning a victory at an early stage of the war" (NSC Directive 68 of 14 April 1950).

The president bridled at the word "possibly." He demanded guarantees—2, 3, and 10 times over. That was how the "Dropshot" plan and the timetable for making the "free world" completely ready for war by 1 January 1957 came about. Before then there would be blockades, mercenaries and terrorists would be used, and revolts and riots would be organized. And the actions of subversive elements would be "planned in such a way," NSC Directive 10/2 (1948) decrees, "that their organizer—the U.S. Government—will not be outwardly discernible; and, in the event of exposure, the U.S. Government will be able to plausibly deny all responsibility for them." Until the United States "reaches a certain level of potential" it would be necessary, "whenever policies or measures are renewed, to stress their fundamentally defensive nature and to be concerned to exert, as far as is possible, a restraining influence on undesirable reactions within the country and abroad" (NSC Memorandum 68).

The "cold war" was started to the accompaniment of anticommunist braying, and the ideological aspect was at the forefront. U.S. state thinking even enriched the militarist lexicon with such modern concepts as "war for ideological motives" (the JCS Document of 9 April 1947). Yet the "cold war" was not short on ideology. The U.S. rulers were unhappy about the very existence of the Soviet Union because of its very large size. The "Russian spirit" and, in general, everything that made the USSR a great power with its own voice in the international arena annoyed them.

We have mentioned the "long cable" which G. Kennan dispatched from Moscow on 22 February 1946. The envoy needed 8,000 words to "work out the intention" of the USSR to "destroy the harmony of our (American) society." "This is a political force relying on a deep and powerful current of Russian nationalism," Kennan continued. As if with a wave of the hand it was proposed to transform the Soviet Union into a bogey and reduce to a minimum any relations with our country.

Soon afterward G. Kennan was to sharpen and develop his arguments in an article under the pseudonym "Mr X" in the journal FOREIGN AFFAIRS. "Mr X" was against merely maintaining the status quo in the expectation of better times to come. The author of the article urged action: "The United States is capable of increasing to a tremendous extent the burdens of Soviet policy and of imposing on the Kremlin much greater moderation and circumspection than (it had been displaying) in recent years; tendencies that will ultimately lead to either the collapse or the gradual erosion of Soviet power will thereby be encouraged."

In publishing this manifesto of "cold war," G. Kennan knew that the president was ready to proclaim a policy of "containment" and "rolling back." The NSC had been particularly zealous in "enlightening" H. Truman.

NSC Memorandum 7 (March 1948) proposed a declaration that "the defeat of the forces of world communism headed by the Soviets is of vital importance for the security of the United States." "This objective," the memorandum records, "cannot be achieved by means of a defensive policy. Correspondingly the United States must assume a leading role in organizing a worldwide counteroffensive in order to mobilize and strengthen our own forces and the anticommunist forces of the non-Soviet world and also in undermining the might of the communist forces."

So what "nondefensive methods" were considered suitable to achieve the United States' "vitally important objectives"? And in particular to prevent Soviet influence over "the potential of Europe." Methods "below the threshold of war," and war itself. Together they formed a "strategy of cold war."

Among the arguments for removing the line between "cold" and "hot" war we find the following: the acquisition by the USSR of the technical potential to "attack the United States or create defenses against an attack by us (the Americans)"; the establishment of Soviet control over regions from which the United States or its allies could make a direct attack on the USSR; political, social, economic, or other "complications" within any state that would be objectively useful to the Soviet Union, regardless of whether external circles would or would not be involved in these "complications"; if time was working in favor of the "potential enemy"; and, in general, when an attack would seem to be the best defense.

In directive 20/1 of 18 August 1948 the NSC raised the "brinkmanship" stakes. It recommended "rolling back Soviet power" and transforming the USSR into a state that would be "politically, militarily, and psychologically weak in comparison with the external forces beyond the limits of its control..."

"In the worst option," we read further on, "that is, if Soviet power is maintained over the whole or almost the whole of Soviet territory, we must demand:

"a) compliance with purely military terms (the surrender of arms, the demilitarization of key regions, and so forth) in order to ensure long-term military impotence;

"b) compliance with terms ensuring substantial economic dependence...

"All the terms must be harsh and humiliating for the communist regime. They could resemble the 1918 peace of Brest-Litovsk."

Why such overtly colonial terminology? In the view of the NSC, Russia was totally devoid of people with a knowledge of "democracy." It would have to be imported. "There are currently a number of interesting Russian emigre groupings.... From our viewpoint any of them would be much more suitable to govern Russia than the Soviet Government." And it is made clear what they would be "suitable" for: to be the instruments to "finally deal" with the forces of opposition to the American aggressors using "the traditional methods of the Russian civil war."

Document 496/I of the Joint Military Planning Committee defined the phases of the conquest and dismemberment of the USSR. It contains many paragraphs. Allow us to cite their content in fragmentary form:

"The current concept of war with the USSR for the next 3 years is based on the possible early deployment of an air attack, making maximum use of the destructive power and psychological effect of the atom bomb and combined with conventional bombing of those elements of the national potential on which the capability for the continuation of military operations depends... The allies must conduct political, psychological, and underground warfare in the USSR and on the territory it occupies. Psychological activity must make maximum use of the fear of the atom bomb in order to weaken the Soviet people's will to continue hostilities and strengthen the will of dissident groups..."

Readers will probably be interested to know what forces the United States intended to use to occupy us. The following are the precise data: two divisions and two air detachments dispatched to Moscow to subdue people and one of each to Leningrad, Arkhangelsk, Murmansk, Gorkiy, Kuybyshev, Kiev, and other cities. The total occupation force to be dispatched would be 22 divisions and 22 air detachments.

A belief in irresistible "supremacy" was to hypnotize the U.S. leaders for a long time to come. Pentagon experts even figured out that to suppress the Soviet people's will to resist, some 65 million people would have to be "taken out" in the first half-hour of a war. For the sake of "planning convenience" (the "Dropshot" plan) they proceeded from the premise that at the moment of attack ("D-Day"—1 January 1957) the United States would have a "10:1 quantitative advantage" in nuclear weapons and an edge over the Soviet Union in terms of "the development of both offensive and defensive weapons." The Soviet Union found it difficult, but it saw to it that the United States did not obtain the "convenient" 10:1 advantage and would subsequently have to be content with parity. It is a mystery why Washington ultimately refrained from taking irreparable steps despite having a multitude of detailed options for preventive strikes against the "potential enemy."

5.

Such was the real rather than the propaganda picture of the U.S. leadership's line during the "cold war" era. Such was, in general outline, the chronicle of the "cold war" and its origins and decline. But even this "shorthand account" is sufficient to realize what real, not imaginary trials the Soviet Union was subjected to. The "cold war" was not our choice. It could not possibly have been the USSR's choice after the most savage of wars and the tremendous sacrifices made by the people to endure and live as they saw fit.

Why is it necessary to talk about all this now? There are a number of reasons. We are again encountering attempts to distort the sense and sequence of events in the past half-century. But that is not all. In the West there are numerous proponents of super-strong feelings who are prepared to go to any lengths. Some of them argue that the "cold war" has never stopped. Others advocate that, on the basis of the experience of the first edition of the "cold war," a second edition should be launched—this time going on until a victorious end is reached, or the end of every living thing on earth. Or at least erecting obstacles to the improvement of the international situation, the assertion in relations between East and West, North and South of the new thinking pioneered by the Soviet Union, and the triumph of the policy of reason over the policy of force.

The American journal NEW PERSPECTIVE QUARTERLY recently published an interview with G. Kennan. One of the coauthors of the "cold war," he subsequently became a critical researcher of it, as is evidenced by the headline over the interview: "Epitaph for the 'Cold War'." Answering a question about when this war will end, Kennan said: The fears and conflicts of the past lose their meaning as cooperation between the USSR and the United States acquires much greater significance.

So who is ahead in overcoming "cold war" thinking, was the next question. G. Kennan answered: "The Soviets have broken with the 'cold war' mentality. It is now up to us to do the same."

May the United States, which was the first to start the "cold war," finish it—even if it is the last to do so. For the sake of a world for each and every person, "a world based on the joint efforts of all countries."

White House Issues Statement on 'Hotline'

LD3108064888 Moscow TASS in English 0637 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Washington August 31 TASS—The White House issued an official statement on Tuesday marking the 25th anniversary of the operational start of the direct communications link, or "hotline", between the Soviet Union and the United States for use by the heads of government of the two countries in emergency situations. The link was established in accordance with the memorandum of understanding dated June 20, 1963.

"Since its inception", the statement says, "this confidential and rapid communication channel has proved to be an invaluable tool. Although used infrequently, the 'hotline' has permitted American presidents to communicate with Soviet leaders to reduce the risk of conflict which might result from accident, miscalculation or misunderstanding".

For the purpose of raising the reliability of the direct communications line, the Soviet Union and the United States concluded agreements in Washington on September 30, 1971, on measures to improve the ability to communicate. In particular, it was agreed to establish and bring into operation two additional channels with the use of manmade satellites of the earth. In addition to that, systems of terminal points of direct communications line were established on the territories of the two countries instead of one such point at each side, as previously was the case.

In 1986, on a proposal by President Reagan, the important channel of direct communications was modernized by adding a rapid facsimile capability to the existing teletype system. "This modernisation was completed in 1986 with excellent results", the statement points out, "And the U.S. and the USSR continued to work together effectively to maintain the highest reliability".

The statement of the White House also mentions further measures to strengthen direct communications between the leadership of the two countries and, in particular, the establishment of yet another direct communications channel in addition to already existing hotline as well as the establishment of nuclear risk reduction centres in the USA and the USSR in 1987.

"Such measures", the statement says, "complement our efforts to negotiate on deep, equitable and effectively verifiable reductions in U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals. These efforts will contribute significantly to international stability and will strengthen the foundation for peace".

U.S. Support for Afghan Opposition Impugned

PM3108091788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 88 Second Edition p 5

[V. Korionov "Rejoinder": "What Delights the Secretary of State"]

[Text] "We are delighted by your action; the United States and President Reagan will continue to help you." This statement was heard recently in Islamabad. It came from the mouth of the U.S. secretary of state. Of course, G. Shultz personally has a perfect right, like everyone else, to be delighted by whomever and whatever he pleases. But he is not a private individual. The place and time he said this are even more important.

The statement was made during a meeting between the U.S. secretary of state and G. Hikmatiyar—leader of the "refugee" pack in the "intransigents'" camp—that is, those who have stopped at nothing and who are endeavoring to prevent peace on the soil of Afghanistan.

The period that Afghanistan is now going through is one of the most crucial and vital in this country's history. Real conditions have been created for unraveling the knots, putting an end to the bloodshed, and giving the Afghan people the chance to begin to live a peaceful life. Governments and politicians will now undergo a serious test. The withdrawal of one-half of the Soviet troop contingent from Afghanistan is irrefutable confirmation of how scrupulously the Soviet Union is fulfilling its international pledges.

As is well known, the United States is one of the guarantors of the Geneva accords. The peoples are also expecting them to make a real contribution to the cause of a peace settlement. But what do we see in reality? At this most crucial moment, Washington announces publicly that it has no intention of ceasing its interference in the Afghans' internal affairs. It is not only Shultz who is saying this. President Reagan, speaking recently in California, also stated: "Our support for Pakistan is not dependent on any particular individual."

Everyone is well aware of what kind of support this is. In the last decade Pakistan has been turned into the main base for siting, training, arming, and dispatching bandit units to the territory of Afghanistan. The Afghan people are not the only ones to suffer from this. One of the results of this policy is an extremely tense situation in Pakistan itself. The Pakistani people's vital interests require that an escape from the prevailing situation be found. Such a possibility now seems to be opening up. The world's press organs point out reasonably that the new Pakistani leadership will be tested not least of all by its attitude toward the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan. Acting head of state Ghulam Ishaq Khan has stated

that Pakistan will fulfill the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan but at the same time will offer humanitarian aid to the Afghan refugees. But can Hikmatiyar and the armed opposition leaders of his kind, who sow seeds of death on Afghan soil, be counted as "refugees"? And can arms shipments to the "intransigents" be described as "humanitarian action"?

U.S. Seen Planning To Move Aircraft to Turkey

PM3108093188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Aug 88 Second Edition p 3

[Lieutenant Colonel M. Kireyev "Pertinent Notes": "Smoke Without Fire?"]

[Text] Where will U.S. RC-135 intelligence-gathering planes be redeployed from Greece if they have to leave the Hellenikon base? It is not impossible that this question has already been decided in certain circles—in principle, so to speak. As for the Western press, it is putting forward suggestions based on examples from the recent past; by drawing a comparison, for instance, with the way the issue of the U.S. F-16 fighter-bombers to be redeployed from Spain to Italy was resolved.

The Turkish newspaper MILLIYET writes that the U.S. RC-135 aircraft may be redeployed from the Greek base to a Turkish base. And although a spokesman for official Turkish circles hastened to dissociate himself from the MILLIYET story, the fears of the country's general public have not been banished. There's no smoke without a fire, as the saying goes. All the more so as the U.S. and NATO leadership's desire not just to prevent a weakening of the bloc's southern flank but, on the contrary, to strengthen it in every possible way is well known. Taking into account Turkey's geographic position, its border with the USSR, and its growing role in Pentagon plans in connection with the expulsion of the U.S. military from Iran, it is not hard to guess the U.S. strategists' possible plans on this point.

It is no accident that there are quite definite opinions about this among Western military specialists. They consider the most suitable new location for the expelled planes the Incirlik or Konya air bases in Turkey. Incirlik is the largest U.S. Air Force base in the Near and Middle East, where 36 nuclear-capable aircraft are on constant standby. Konya is the advance base for U.S. AWACS long-range early-warning aircraft.

One's attention in this respect is drawn to the fact that Pentagon emissaries have been frequent visitors to Turkey recently. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci's official visit there was followed by General G. Goodall, commander of NATO Allied Air Forces; and then General L. Welch, chief of staff of the U.S. Air Force. It is also known that U.S. Assistant Defense Secretary M. Carlisle has visited the Incirlik U.S. Air Force base. All this cannot fail to put the Turkish public on guard.

U.S. Abandons Attempt To Close PLO Mission

LD3008105588 Moscow TASS in English 0804 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] New York August 30 TASS—TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov reports:

The U.S. Government has abandoned attempts at closing down the mission of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) at the United Nations. The Department of Justice announced on Monday that the U.S. Administration does not intend to appeal against the ruling by New York District Court Judge Edmund Palmieri two months ago that the United States could not close the PLO's U.N. observer mission.

The U.N. Headquarters agreement between the United States and the United Nations Organisation and the long practice of its implementation leaves no doubt that the USA is bound to refrain from actions hindering the activities of the PLO mission at the United Nations.

At present, following the U.S. authorities' refusal to dispute the conclusion, the "case involving the PLO mission at the United Nations", the case which was artificially played up by Zionist circles in the United States, has finally ended in a triumph of the international community.

For more than eight months the United Nations Organisation has been making various attempts to settle the crisis which was brought on by the Zionist lobby in Congress. Last year, under the lobby's pressure, the U.S. Congress adopted an amendment to the appropriations bill concerning foreign relations. According to the amendment, the PLO mission at the United Nations ostensibly falls under the provisions of the anti-terrorism law and should be closed down. The bill was signed by the President, although many in the U.S. Administration and in the Department of State, in particular, were aware that it obviously contradicted the agreement between the UNO and the USA and Washington's commitment to ensure normal conditions for the functioning of the missions of all U.N. member-nations as well as observers from various organisations which had been granted this status by a decision of the U.N. General Assembly.

In spring this year the 42nd session of the U.N. General Assembly specially resumed work twice with a view to trying to settle the arisen problem. On both occasions the international community, unanimously practically (with the exception of the USA and Israel), confirmed the right of the PLO mission to stay in New York.

However, it was only after the U.S. judge's ruling, and only two months later, the U.S. Government officially had to abandon its malicious remarks about the PLO mission.

A spokesman for the United Nations secretary-general welcomed the statement made in Washington. He said that thereby the line was drawn under the dispute between the United Nations and the USA over the PLO mission.

U.S. To Double Aid to UNITA

LD3108034788 Moscow TASS in English 1300 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] New York August 30 TASS—The United States intends to double its financial aid to the anti-Angolan terrorist UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] group. This was reported by the Cox Information Service on Monday, with reference to well-informed sources. The Cox service said that the volume of new aid to UNITA might run into about 40 million dollars. The aid bill will be considered by Congress in September when the legislators resume work after the summer recess. When plans of aid to the UNITA group were discussed at U.S. Congress, some legislators noted that such an action could undermine the current process of negotiations to attain peace in the south of Africa, in which the United States plays a mediatory role, the report said.

A rise in American financial aid to the UNITA will hamper conclusion of accords between Angola, Cuba and the Republic of South Africa on a peace settlement in the region, permanent representative of the People's Republic of Angola at the United Nations Manuel Pedro Pacavira said in the Cox service interview. To create an atmosphere of peace there, the United States should stop assisting the UNITA.

In the current fiscal year Washington earmarked not less than 20 million dollars to the UNITA. The money was intended above all for the purchase of American weapons, specifically Stinger anti-aircraft missiles.

Luanda August 30 TASS—Bandits from the UNITA group attacked a bus with a group of Angolan religious workers in the Huambo Province on Monday. The bus was machine-gunned on the highway between the settlements of Babaera and Chinjenje. The national radio reported that eight people, among them a baby, lost their lives in the terrorist action.

Soviet 'Observer' Dismisses 'Superpower Pact'

AU2608184388 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian Issue 34, 24 Aug 88 p 11

[Article by Vladimir Simonov, NOVOSTI political observer, "especially for ANTENI": "Tide of Agreement"]

[Text] Moscow—The pictures appeared on television screens throughout the world. At the testing ground in the Soviet steppes, before the lenses of the television cameras and the watchful gaze of the international press, what was once a nuclear weapon disintegrated in a mighty explosion and flew into the air. The words of the INF Treaty were being turned into deeds.

Clearly, the natural reaction of any person, regardless of whether he is a member of the capitalist, socialist, or Third World, should fluctuate between relief and hope. In the final analysis, life on earth will become more secure.

Such attitudes are indeed prevailing. However, at the same time, in this new tide of agreement in Soviet-American relations, the vestiges of the "superpower pact" theory are emerging from the dark recesses of the public consciousness. Recently this theory has been mentioned more frequently by certain ideologists. We are already hearing the same thing we heard in the early seventies: Yes, the USSR and United States are now even more skillfully dancing the tango of political negotiations, humanitarian relations, and economic exchange. However, without stepping on each other's feet, before you know it, they will be sweeping the feet of those around them from beneath them. The interests of mutual Soviet-American understanding are being realized to the detriment of the interests of the entire rest of the world. The two superpowers are dividing the world into spheres of influence and agreeing on how each of them is to subject the small and weak to its authority. It is very easy for them to find a common language, since Gorbachev's restructuring is trying to change socialism in the image and likeness of the other system.

This "condominium" theory already experienced a popularity boom during the years of detente. In my opinion, it would be insincere not to acknowledge that at that time it fell on fertile ground and was nourished by the variance between words and deeds and the absence of consistency and soundness in the detente process that were characteristic of that period. In Washington and Moscow people shook each other's hands warmly in support of a sound world community, while that community continued to shed blood in armed conflicts. Of the 120 wars that have broken out since 1945, mainly in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, many were waged during the "detente" period, including the most complex ones, which carried the risk of inciting a global clash.

Are the Soviet Union and the United States to unite in a "pact" today? I think this is a prohibitive idea, one that obstructs progress and the way to the truth. In actual fact, the superpowers, these "bad boys," are "guilty" of an exceptionally long list of changes for the better. When you turn on the radio in the morning, doesn't it sometimes seem to you that the announcer is reading out our dreams of a long-awaited turn to a violence-free world? On 15 August the USSR completed the first stage of the withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan, despite the difficulties encountered in implementing the Geneva accords. On 20 August the Iran-Iraq cease-fire came into force, opening the doors for direct talks. The shooting has stopped in southern Africa, where the RSA, Angola, Cuba, and the United States have agreed on measures that may bring independence to Namibia.

A completely new element has taken shape in international relations; namely, growing Soviet-American cooperation in settling regional conflicts. This became possible as a result of the view prevailing in Moscow and Washington that the world does not have two poles but is multifaceted and interconnected, and that greater security and the easing of economic, ecological, and other problems are impossible for the two of them to achieve alone, to the detriment of others, but are attainable when all act together.

The USSR calls this new thinking, while America calls it symmetry of interests and actions. Those who are trying to call it a "pact of the two superpowers" are attempting to set their own seals on this change in events. One cannot help asking whether these are not the same political forces whose specialty it was to play on the contradictions between the USSR and United States for the benefit of their own selfish interests. The time for sitting between two fences is past.

The "condominium" theory also presumes the existence of some moral equivalent between Soviet and American foreign policy, but the authors of this theory cannot put their hand upon it. This can be seen very well at the United Nations, for example, which is now playing a much more constructive role in the settlement of regional conflicts. The Soviet Union has made a revolutionary change in its attitude toward the international forum. Moscow has replaced its "no, no" policy with active participation in UN activities, including paying $25 million in April to settle its debt. At the same time, the president of the U.S. branch of the UN association reached the conclusion that "the United States is more isolated at the United Nations than ever before." The attempts of the U.S. Administration to obtain $47 million from Congress for the contras in Nicaragua, and their lack of resistance to, or even tacit approval of Pakistan's maneuvering regarding the Afghanistan problem—all this promotes such isolation. It reminds one that so far the American leadership's mastering of the new political thinking is like climbing a slippery pole, from which one is in danger of slipping off at any moment.

China

Aims of Takeshita's PRC Visit Assessed

PM3008152388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 88 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[Igor Latyshev article under the "Correspondent Comments" rubric: "Continuation of Dialogue"]

[Text] Tokyo—Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita is on an official visit to the PRC. His visit to that country was planned early this year. It is timed to coincide with the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Japanese Treaty on Peace and Friendship, which took place 12 August 1978. It appears from official statements that it is Takeshita's aim to further consolidate good-neighborly ties between the two countries. In the course of his stay in the PRC the Japanese prime minister intends to meet with leading Chinese leaders, notably with Deng Xiaoping.

Japanese press articles devoted to this event note the considerable broadening of economic ties between the two countries in the last 10 years. Whereas in 1978 trade turnover between these countries totaled approximately $5 billion, in 1987 it had reached $15.7 billion. In the same period 395 agreements on establishing enterprises in China with the participation of Japanese capital were registered. In this connection statistics point to a gradual increase in direct Japanese capital investments in the Chinese economy. According to Japan's Ministry of Finance, in 1986 Japan's direct investments in China totaled $230 million, which is twice the relevant indicators for the previous year.

However, these figures are no cause for delight in Japan's business circles or in the press. They are seen as evidence that the rates of development of economic ties between the two countries are as yet still comparatively limited. Today direct Japanese investments in the PRC amount to only 8 percent of all direct foreign investments in this country's economy. In terms of the volume of capital investments in the Chinese economy over the last decade Japan accounts for only one-third of the amount invested by the United States. The Japanese press accounts for this "lag" in comparison with the United States by the "softly softly" approach practiced by Japanese business circles toward the establishment of profound, long-term contacts with Chinese enterprises. Economic experts here see this "caution" as being occasioned by a number of inconveniences and imperfections of a legal nature, and also by the difficulties linked with the limited development of the economic and social infrastructures in many areas of China.

The Japanese press also points out certain negative elements that have emerged in the posture of Japan's ruling circles toward the PRC in the 10 years since the conclusion of the Sino-Japanse Treaty on Peace and Friendship. In particular, the attempts by individual Japanese statesmen to keep quiet about Japanese imperialism's armed aggression and mass crimes in China have not helped to consolidate good-neighborliness between the two countries. PRC public opinion is also alarmed by Japan's pursuit of an ever-larger buildup of its armed forces' combat might.

All indications are that Takeshita's present visit to the PRC is designed to remove the aforementioned friction and consolidate contacts between the two countries. One of its main aims is to assure the Chinese leadership of Japan's readiness for the further broadening of economic ties with the PRC.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Doubt Over Vietnam's Withdrawal Criticized

BK3108063188 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 30 August 88

[Commentary by station observer Alekseyev]

[Text] Dear friends and comrades have already learned of the date by which the Vietnamese volunteer troops will be withdrawn from Cambodia. They will be completely pulled out of the country at the latest by the first quarter of 1990. However, the number of Vietnamese soldiers present in Cambodia will be reduced by 50,000 men this year, meaning it will be cut in half. Our observer Comrade Alekseyev writes the following in this regard:

At the informal meeting among the four Cambodian parties, which was held in Bogor, Indonesia, in July, neither any of the Cambodian factions nor the ASEAN representatives present at the meeting expressed the least doubt over the duration of the troop withdrawal announced by Hanoi and Phnom Penh. So, we wonder why, now, some countries in Asia have suddenly raised this issue to exploit it again. They have mainly tried to distort and to spoil the truth of Vietnam's genuine attitude. They have claimed it seems that Hanoi has linked its troop pullout to the condition of preventing the so-called Khmer Rouge, or in another word, the Pol Pot group, from returning to power in Cambodia. They recently issued a relevant statement which, in particular, says that Vietnam will not withdraw its troops so long as the Khmer Rouge are not discarded completely.

We would like to raise this question: Where and when did the Vietnamese leaders put forward all these conditions for their troop withdrawal? As everybody already knows, Hanoi and Phnom Penh have posed the question with a totally different meaning, and the Vietnamese soldiers will be completely withdrawn from Cambodia before the end of the first quarter of 1990. Nor does this troop withdrawal depend on prior settlement of the Cambodian problem. As a matter of fact, in Hanoi and Phnom Penh, one always attributes significant meaning to the necessity of rejecting the rebirth of the genocidal Pol Pot regime in Cambodia. This is the most important aspect of the solution.

Anyway, as the SRV and the PRK leaderships have repeatedly emphasized, the reality of the problem lies in how to prevent the Vietnamese troop withdrawal from Cambodia from affecting Cambodia's defense capability. As Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, recently pointed out, the country's Armed Forces, on their own, now have sufficient capability to stand up to the military threat from the Pol Pot group. Is this contingency appropriate to advance the settlement of the Cambodian problem? The answer is yes. It is rather more than enough if we recall that most of the parties participating in the Bogor meeting agreed on the need to thwart the supremacy of the Khmer Rouge regime in Cambodia.

Latest Political Developments in Burma Observed

BK3108080788 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1430 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Station observer commentary]

[Text] Mass demonstrations are continuing in Burma. According to reports from eyewitnesses, the key reason that has brought millions of Burmese people onto the streets is the severe economic hardships facing the country—ones that the incumbent government cannot solve. Concerns have been raised over the shortage of food which has been worsened by Burma's reduced ability to import goods. Burma's settlement of interests for the loans taken from Western creditors alone almost exhaust its earnings from exports.

In recent days, the Armed Forces have avoided confronting the demonstrators to prevent the bloody events that occurred under the short rule of U Sein Lwin. But it has been learned that troops opened fire on the rioting inmates in some prisons. According to some reports, the majority of people detained for their protests against U Ne Win and U Sein Lwin have now been released.

In many cities throughout the country, mass committees have been formed to replace officials of the regional organs of power and party organizations who have resigned their posts. These committees are administering the cities and have taken charge of peace and law and order.

On Monday [29 August], former president U Win Maung announced the formation of the League for Peace and Democracy. Many famous politicians who had criticized U Ne Win's administration have joined that league. Some persons famous for their services during the struggle for independence have also joined the body. For instance, U Nu, former premier ousted in the military coup of 1962, has agreed to join the league as chairman. A declaration issued by the league said it will do the utmost to resolve the national problems and to fulfill the demands of the demonstrators. Sources say the group will soon make an announcement on its beliefs and on its stand on the formation of an interim government.

Meanwhile, students, who played a deciding role in the mass movements in recent months, have re-formed the All Burma Students Union. Burmese students have had a very good history of political struggle, and, as observers say, the formation of the students union can have an impact on the political developments in the country.

The majority of the observers say it is still too early to judge exactly the standing of the political forces in Burma. Political standings of leaders who have just taken

the political stage have not yet emerged clearly. It seems that the Burma Socialist Program Party headed by Dr Maung Maung has not yet said its last words. Our station observer says that the party intends to make its final decision on a national referendum to decide on a multiparty system at the extraordinary congress to be held on 12 September.

Burma's 'Turbulent, Dramatic Events' Viewed
PM3008131588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Aug 88 Second Edition p 5

[O. Skalkin article: "Events in Burma Today. Stream of Turbulent Events"]

[Text] Burma is being swept with turbulent, dramatic events, like the waves of the great Irawadi in flood. According to a recent report, about 1 million people gathered for a rally in Rangoon last Friday, demanding the abolition of the one-party system and the formation of a transitional government for the holding of elections. Strikes are continuing in the capital. Government institutions are not working and stores, business centers, and banks are closed. The central newspapers are not being printed. People are calling for the dissolution of the government.

The number of people involved in antigovernment demonstrations has now reached hundreds of thousands, even millions. These demonstrations are showing no sign of abating. They have affected every stratum of society. Last week, according to agency reports, the students, tradesmen, Buddhist monks, and workers began to be joined by state employees. There are now signs of a split within the Army.

As is well known, the replacement of President Ne Win, who had led the country since 1962, with his trusted associate Sein Lwin failed to relieve the menacing atmosphere. It would be truer to say that this change only added fuel to the flames. Among the people this general had earned notoriety as a thug—he had not been forgiven for the shooting of demonstrators, which had been carried out on his orders. As far as the public was concerned, he was undoubtedly "persona non grata." The general began by turning the screws. According to agency reports, during Sein Lwin's 18 days in power thousands of people died in clashes between troops and demonstrators.

In this atmosphere of growing protest the next change was made—the third in less than a month—in Burma's top leadership. Maung Maung is now head of the Burma Socialist Program Party (BSPP) and head of state. For the first time in 26 years power is in the hands of a civilian—a lawyer by education, a specialist in the field of international law, and a person not directly mixed up in the undemocratic excesses of his predecessors. Maung Maung is reputed to be a relatively moderate political figure, and it is evidently assumed that he will be more acceptable to the people.

So what exactly are the demands being made by the crowds gathering every day around the magnificent Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon? What are the aims of the masses of Burmese stubbornly wanting to be heard? The participants in the antigovernment demonstrations are insisting on the establishment of democratic forms of government. People are calling for a multiparty system, the liberation of the economy from rigid state control, free elections, and so forth. The most far-reaching statement seems to have come from Aung Gyi, a prominent member of the opposition, who, at one of the rallies, demanded the formation of a transitional government to give "the Maung Maung government a chance to retire gracefully." This, at any rate, is how the situation stands at present. But the uncompromising nature of the protests is increasing, as is the number of people involved.

As one newspaper has reasonably pointed out, it is still too early to say whether the changes at the top can appease the lower orders, who do not want to return to the old days. Meanwhile, more and more new changes are being made in the country's political life. Although the avalanche of demonstrations is showing no sign of abating, the authorities are refraining from suppressing them by force. Martial law has been lifted in Rangoon and some other cities. Troops are being withdrawn from the central areas of the Burmese capital. Soldiers are no longer opening fire on demonstrators. Many figures opposed to the government have been released from jail. Among them is Aung Gyi, an advocate of cardinal reforms in the country. The reins of state control over the economy are being loosened.

There is no doubt that the main cause of the present general unrest is the lamentable state of the Burmese economy: the shortage of foreign currency, the drop in exports and imports, the serious fuel shortage, the slump in production, and the steady rise in the cost of living. This analysis is all the more interesting when you know that it belongs to Aye Ko, general secretary of the BSPP Central Committee. Here are a few figures from other sources to give an even clearer picture.

Last year there was a 400-percent increase in rice prices in Burma. The interest paid to international creditors on the foreign debt stands at $292 million this year, which is virtually the equivalent of export earnings. A large proportion of the valuable stones mined in the country, as well as minerals and timber, leak out of Burma through black market channels. Particularly painful is the shortage of rice, in which Burma was not only totally self-sufficient—it was also one of the biggest rice suppliers on the world market. Last year the United Nations ranked Burma among the least developed countries of the world, with a per capita income of less than $200 per year.

An extraordinary BSPP congress is to be held on 12 September. The main issue to be discussed will be that of holding a referendum on the question of switching to a multiparty system.

The authorities are making some moves. But the pressure of events is so great that the situation is deteriorating with every hour. According to REUTER, in a number of the country's cities state and party bodies have virtually disbanded. Power has been assumed by public committees that are controlling all spheres of city life—from the medical services system to the maintenance of law and order. According to the latest reports, in some regions spontaneous demonstrations are completely out of control and anarchy prevails. Some political observers are inclined to describe the present situation as the "death pangs of the regime." One thing is clear: This is an extremely serious political crisis.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Spokesman Denies Border Areas Mined

LD3008183188 Moscow TASS in English 1756 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Kabul August 30 TASS—An official spokesman for the Afghan Foreign Ministry today denied White House assertions that Afghan authorities are laying mine fields in the country's frontier areas to prevent refugees from coming home.

The Afghan Government, fulfilling the commitments it has made in Geneva and pursuing a policy of national reconciliation, is creating favorable conditions for the return of compatriots living in Iran and Pakistan, he said in the statement.

It accused Washington and its allies of trying all manner of propaganda ploys in a bid to hold back the process of bringing the situation regarding Afghanistan back to normal.

The statement said the Afghan Foreign Ministry declares once again that all the main roads used by Afghan refugees on their way home are clear.

It added that the mine fields are located around important military and economic faclities exceptionally for their protection and are not connected with the main routes for homebound refugee traffic in any way.

If the United States really wants to show concern for the returning Afghan refugees, it should abide in good faith by the Geneva agreements, of which it is a guarantor, and give all possible assistance to U.N. agencies with resolving this problem, the statement said.

Infiltration of Arms Through Pakistan Continues

LD3108090088 Moscow TASS in English 1228 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Kabul August 30 TASS—Caravans with equipment for anti-government groups continue infiltrating Afghanistan's territory from Pakistan. Weapons and ammunition have been sent in recent days, in particular, into Sirak area (81 km south-west of Kabul) for the elements of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan (IPA). A caravan of 60 pack animals with weapons and ammunition arrived in the area of the city of Mehtarlam for an element of the same group. A new group of armed militants and a consignment of military equipment in 40 pack animals were sent to the same area from Pakistan for detachments of the movement of Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan. The dispatch of arms from Pakistan is continuing to Kabul, Paravan, Nangarhar and Lowgar Provinces and from Iran—from Herat and Badghis.

In Chaman area (Pakistan) up to 70 tanks from among the armed forces of Pakistan are massed. They are deployed along the Afghan-Pakistan border with the aim of blocking the road used for the delivery of commodities into Afghanistan and to prevent the return of refugees home.

Reports are reaching on the participation of foreign advisers in combat operations in Afghan territory among armed groups. Thus, a foreign adviser, who earlier arrived to join an IPA armed element, was killed in Alishang District (Laghman Province)

In the area of Zia-Lala [name as received] near the city of Baraki courses have been set up for the study of the tactics of guerrilla warfare. The courses are guided by a representative of the IPA headquarters and two Pakistani instructors. A radio station has been set up in Azrow area (Lowgar Province) with the aid of French specialists for prompt communication with the IPA headquarters in Peshawar. A field hospital, whose personnel includes four French and two Pakistani physicians was established there way back in early August.

'Tensions,' Clashes Continue in Afghanistan

LD3108091988 Moscow TASS in English 1205 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Kabul August 30 TASS—Tensions are continuing in many areas of Afghanistan. Thus, in recent days armed detachments of the anti-government Movement for Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan made an attempt at capturing the district centre of Gereshk (Helmand) Province. The city repeatedly came under artillery and rocket fire. There are casualties among the civilian population, considerable damage was done to government and private property. In response to these actions and at the request of the local population Afghan Army units carried out an operation against rebels, in whose course 40 extremists were killed and more than 60 wounded. Large quantities of arms were destroyed.

In recent days, the Afghan Army also struck against the enemy in Nangarhar and Konarha Provinces, where the losses of the rebels reached a total of 25-30 men. Several ammunition depots and strongholds of extremists were captured. A difficult situation shaped near the city of Mehterlam, the centre of Laghman Province. In the course of several days the rebels were mortaring and

rocketing it. Populated localities in other Afghan provinces—Kabul, Badakhshan, Balkh, Herat, Qandahar and Parvan also came under fire from the extremists.

Sarandoy [people's militia] and Army units continue discovering foreign-made booby traps in populated localities, streets and backyards in the form of ballpoints, plastic bags, umbrella handles, etc. In recent days 35 rebels were killed and some 50 injured as a result of clashes between rival gangs in Parvan and Faryab Provinces.

The situation is returning to normal in Konduz Province. The inhabitants of the city and Afghan Army men continue restoring the buildings destroyed by the rebels. Yesterday a meeting of authoritative representatives of the population was held in Konduz to elect the leading bodies of the council of the National Front and National Reconciliation Commission of the province. Amir Sayyed, a representative of the business circles of Konduz has been named the leader of these organisations.

Despite the remaining tensions in the country and obstacles put up by Iranian and Pakistani authorities, refugees are returning in Afghanistan. Over the past two days more than 450 Afghans have returned in Qandahar and Nangarhar from Pakistan. Some of them—the inhabitants of other provinces—left for the areas of their permanent residence after receiving government aid.

Daily Profiles Acting Pakistani President

PM3008143788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Unattributed article under "Who's Who" rubric: "Ghulam Ishaq Khan"]

[Text] Ghulam Ishaq Khan, acting president of Pakistan, was born into a Pushtun family in Bannu District (Northwest Frontier Province) 20 January 1915. He entered the provincial state service in 1940. Soon after independence was declared and Pakistan was created, he was appointed secretary to the chief minister of the province, which enabled him to become closer to political power.

In 1961 Ayub Khan, who was ruler at that time, made Ishaq Khan director of the state Administration for the Development of Water and Power Resources. Some 6 years later he occupied the key post of minister of finance in the federal government, and in 1970 he became secretary of the cabinet.

For 4 years (1971-75) he served as director of the State Bank of Pakistan. Later Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto appointed him general secretary of the Ministry of Defense, which brought Ishaq Khan nearer to Ziaul Haq, who at the start of 1976 was appointed Army chief of staff.

After the coup on 5 July 1977 Ishaq Khan was appointed to the newly created post of chief general secretary, which raised him to ministerial rank. Later he became adviser to Ziaul Haq for planning and development, and then, in 1978, minister of finance. Ishaq Khan visited the USSR twice in this capacity.

During the 1985 elections, in which political parties were banned from participating, he was elected a member of the Senate.

With Ziaul Haq's support, Ishaq Khan was later elected Senate chairman so he could act as a deputy for the president when the latter was out of the country. After his first 3-year term, Ishaq Khan was reelected chairman of the Senate in March 1988.

Ishaq Khan, REUTER notes, can remain acting president for 30 days after the general elections planned for 16 November, when the deputies of the new parliament and the provinces' four legislative assemblies must elect a new permanent president.

Pakistani Envoy Departs Moscow 26 Aug

PM3008142588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Shahid Mohammad Amin, Pakistani ambassador to the USSR, departed Moscow 26 August.

Kuwaiti General Says Moscow Ties 'Progressing'

LD3008231088 Kuwait Domestic Service in Arabic 2100 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Major General Mazyad 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sani', chief of the Army General Staff, has emphasized that cooperation between Kuwait and the Soviet Union in all political, economic, and military spheres is rapidly progressing. Maj Gen al-Sani', who is now on an official visit to the USSR, said in an interview on Radio Moscow tonight that he is conveying Kuwait's regards—those of the amir, the government, and the people—to the Soviet people. He added that Kuwait's agreement to purchase some Soviet military equipment is evidence of the strength of relations between the two countries. Maj Gen al-Sani' also noted that his visit to the Soviet Union comes in response to an invitation from Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev, chief of USSR Armed Forces General Staff.

Daily Recalls Ups, Downs of Egyptian Relations

PM3108104988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent D. Velikiy dispatch: "Butrus Ghali: New Thinking Bearing Fruit"]

[Text] Cairo—The USSR and Egypt established diplomatic relations 45 years ago. In connection with this anniversary, our correspondent in Cairo met with two

prominent Egyptian statesmen and asked them to discuss the development of Egyptian-Soviet ties. Here is what IZVESTIYA was told by Dr Butrus Ghali, Egyptian minister of state for foreign affairs and also head of the Egyptian-Soviet Friendship Society:

"There have been warm and cool periods in relations between our countries. I would now term these relations mature and highly assess them. Cooperation is developing and mutual understanding is growing stronger, which undoubtedly serves to strengthen stability both in the world and in the region."

Butrus Ghali recently visited the Soviet Union and, naturally, the conversation turned to his impressions of his visit.

"We are attentively following events in the USSR. We are studying the results of the 19th party conference and can see the changes in the foreign policy sphere. We positively assess them, for we believe that the aim of these changes is to strengthen world peace.

"One of the theses of Soviet policy set forth by M. Gorbachev in his book, where he raises the problem of the ever-deepening gulf between the developed and developing countries, is very important for our relations," the minister went on to say. "This is a vital question, and it can only be resolved through dialogue. And, in my opinion, restructuring in the field of international relations means, above all, dialogue—and that is what the USSR advocates."

As an impressive example of new thinking, the minister cited the decision on a political settlement concerning Afghanistan and the Soviet troop withdrawal. "We welcome this," Butrus Ghali stressed, "and we believe that a peaceful settlement accords with the interests not just of Afghanistan but of the entire world community.

General Sami Khudayr, governor of Port Sa'id Governorate, knows about war first hand. As a lieutenant during the Anglo-French and Israeli aggression against Egypt in 1956 he took part in the defense of Port Sa'id.

"Relations between our countries are deep rooted, and the inhabitants of Port Sa'id are proud of their special place in the formation of Egyptian-Soviet relations," Sami Khudayr said. "After all, it was the Soviet Union that helped us during those most difficult times for the city. And we will never forget that.

"Ordinary people came to the defense of besieged Port Sa'id. Many of the home guard went into action," he said. "Children chalked 'Death to the occupiers' on the enemy vehicles. Military fate," the general summed up, "linked Egypt's Port Sa'id and the USSR's Volgograd, whose inhabitants won struggles against enemies. It is no accident that the cities are twinned."

[Velikiy] General, I remember that when we met 2 years ago we noted that contacts between the twin cities of Port Sa'id and Volgograd had faded somewhat. How about now?

[Khudayr] I'm now just on my way to Volgograd to further develop our ties. I'd like to think that this process will continue in many areas—including economic, trade, and athletic contacts. In this sense Soviet restructuring provides a good opportunity to implement these intentions...

Demichev Receives Syrian Delegation

LD3108040088 Moscow TASS in English 1836 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 30 TASS—Satisfaction with the state of relations between the Soviet Union and Syria and a desire to continue fruitfully developing bilateral cooperation were expressed during a friendly meeting in the Kremlin today between Petr Demichev, an alternative member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first vice-president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and a visiting delegation of Syrian MP's [members of parliament].

The delegation, from the Commission on Interarab and International Affairs of the Syrian parliament, the People's Council, arrived in Moscow earlier in the day at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Demichev said that Soviet-American dialogue, the INF Treaty, the signature of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, the possibility that has emerged to settle the Iran-Iraq conflict and the signs of progress towards resolving also other conflicts have marked a thaw in the world political climate. It is important to stimulate this process in every way.

In this context the participants in the meeting made a thorough discussion of the problem of a Middle East settlement. They were unanimous that time is urging a stepup in efforts to put an end to the most protracted and explosive conflict, namely the Arab-Israeli one.

It is essential that there be general awareness in the Middle East that it is only on the basis of a balance of interests of all the sides that mutually acceptable constructive solutions can be found.

The sides emphasized the importance of achieving an early and fair settlement by preparing and convening an international conference on the Middle East.

Delegation leader Nazih Duwaydari, a member of the Central Committee of the Ba'th Party, spoke highly of Soviet foreign policy initiatives for removing the nuclear threat, effecting cardinal disarmament measures and defusing tensions, including those in the Middle East.

Supreme Soviet Honors Jordanian Senator
LD2908161888 Moscow TASS in English 1542 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August, 29 TASS—It is reported here today that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has awarded the Peoples' Friendship Order to Senator Bahjat al-Talhuni, chairman of the Board of the Jordanian-Soviet Friendship Society. He received the top honour for vigorous activity to develop and cement friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the Soviet Union and on the occasion of his 75th birthday.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Latest Round of Quadripartite Talks Discussed
LD3008092088 Moscow in Portuguese to Africa 1830 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Interview with Radio Moscow African Service expert (Mikhail Dughin) by Igor Potovskiy; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Potovskiy] Last week world opinion marked Namibia Day on the anniversary of the beginning of armed action by the People's Army for the Liberation of Namibia against the South African occupation forces. The date was celebrated this year in a special context, insofar as the process of political normalization gives reason for hoping that the armed struggle started by SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] in 1966 may soon come to an end. [passage omitted]

But can hope become certainty? Do the guarantees exist that the quadripartite talks will produce the desired results? Only recently, on the eve of yet another round of talks between the People's Republic of Angola, Cuba, South Africa, and the United States in Brazzaville, Linda Schuster wrote in the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR that many African countries appear to believe that these talks, held with U.S. mediation, will only lead to the withdrawal of South African and Cuban troops from Angola. I would very much like to hear your views on this, Mikhail.

[(Dughin)] Of course no guarantees exist, and I would not hasten to make rosy forecasts, for many reasons. [passage omitted]

With regard to the quadripartite talks, we should note the contradictions revealed as they continue. South Africa is obviously dragging its feet. It was supposed to start withdrawing its troops from Angola on 10 August, and it has not done so. [passage omitted] The command of the South African Defense Forces has said that the withdrawal will not begin before 30 August, and yet, under the agreement reached in Geneva at the quadripartite talks, the withdrawal should be completed—please note—by 1 September.

[Potovskiy] And yet the U.S. State Department speaks of excellent prospects being opened up by the talks, which should be over very soon. It is true that the U.S. needs a success. The administration needs it, with the elections approaching. It would be quite a bonus before the elections; that is to say, before November. What is going on?

[(Dughin)] Not coincidentally, the Nkomati accord comes to mind. It is quite a curious thing: At a particular critical moment South Africa signs an agreement; tensions and the level of public scrutiny are reduced and then, in one way or another, the agreement is sabotaged. [passage omitted]

Now let us recall the fourth round of the quadripartite talks in Geneva: under difficult conditions, with the burden of the war in Angola becoming much too heavy from both the economic and political standpoints, with the threat of a serious intensification of the U.S. Administration acting as a mediator at the talks. But then subsequent developments followed the known pattern: President Botha declared that the process would require more time than was agreed. Again he did not renege on his undertakings, but he did not abide by them.

Now let us recall the fifth round of the talks in Brazzaville. Again the issue of Namibia's independence. The United States is still needing to score a success. But the conditions for granting independence must be such as to ensure that U.S. and South African interests in Namibia will remain untouched. For Namibia is not just a buffer zone for South Africa but also an extremely valuable source of strategic raw materials, and loss of control over it will not occur without difficulties. However, it is not possible to act as is thought necessary by the South African military who are altogether unwilling to grant Namibia independence, certain as they are that they are gradually winning the fight against SWAPO. South Africa's political prospects are very weak. Many observers believe that, regardless of who wins the U.S. presidential elections, the next U.S. Administration will be much less sympathetic toward Pretoria. So the situation must be settled now, and in such a way as to ensure that the elections stipulated by the UN resolution—in the event of such a stage being reached, of course—will result in the preservation of the status quo, both for South Africa and for the United States. All of this takes time, and the situation demands positive solutions.

[Potovskiy] So, in that case, the ideal, following the usual pattern, would be to accept an undertaking and then fail to abide by it. What is needed [by the United States] is a solution to change the mind of public opinion which favors comprehensive sanctions against South Africa—and upon which Democratic candidate Dukakis is insistent—and to enable the Republican Bush, in the event of his victory, to soften the stand towards Pretoria with allusions to the need for continuing a policy that has proved so effective.

[(Dughin)] I think you are right. Just look at the concrete results of the latest round of quadripartite talks in Brazzaville: The final communique says that the schedule proposed by the Angolan and Cuban Governments for the northward withdrawal of the Cuban troops was discussed, as well as the question of their complete phased withdrawal from Angola. But it contained not a single word about the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola.

Nigerian Military Chief Receives Petrovskiy

LD3108084388 Moscow TASS in English 1720 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Lagos, August 30 TASS—USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy today was received here by the Chief of General Staff of Nigeria's Armed Forces Vice Admiral Augustus Aikhomu and conveyed greetings and best of wishes from General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev to the Nigerian leadership and people.

The two had a detailed exchange of views on questions of bilateral and multilateral cooperation and both sides expressed hope that big prospects are opening up for interaction between the two countries, for a [word indistinct] approach to the solution of issues.

Speaking in a TASS interview Vladimir Petrovskiy described the visit as "useful and substantive" (?and) opening up big possibilities for developing bilateral relations. He told the TASS correspondent that "the foreign ministers of the two countries will meet soon and this will help raise Soviet-Nigerian relations to a qualitatively new level".

Asked to comment on the results of Vladimir Petrovskiy's visit Nigeria's State Minister for Foreign Affairs Mohammed Anka told the TASS correspondent that it was "very successful". "We had frank discussions and we discovered new areas, new grounds for cooperation between our two countries", he said. "We hope to follow this up in the very near future", the state minister went on. He will head a Nigerian delegation that is to visit Moscow. Speaking of the new areas of cooperation Mohammed Anka mentioned in particular the new Soviet concept of comprehensive international security. "I think that is a new area that we are interested in and that we would be able to follow this very closely because we have realised that we have common grounds to look for comprehensive security for all".

"Relations between Nigeria and the Soviet Union now are excellent and they have been cemented". Referring to the visit by the Soviet deputy foreign minister, Mohammed Anka expressed the view that "these kind of consultations and dialogue do very much to promote world peace".

Vladimir Petrovskiy left Nigeria today.

East Europe

Further on Polish Government Reaction to Strikes

Plenum Views 'Complex' Conditions

PM3108095588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[PRAVDA and TASS special correspondents' report under the rubric "PZPR Central Committee Plenum Concludes": "Following the Path of Renewal"]

[Text] Warsaw, 29 Aug—The scheduled PZPR Central Committee plenum held last Saturday and Sunday was an important event in Polish life. The plenum was devoted to analyzing the sociopolitical and economic situation in the country and the topical tasks facing the party in the present complex conditions.

As is well known, the social situation in Poland has recently worsened considerably. Illegal strikes have flared up at a number of enterprises in the country due to incitement by subversive elements from underground groups. The people involved in the strike action have made political as well as economic demands—demands inspired by opponents of the present system. However, the causes of this dissatisfaction among workers go far deeper. It is a reflection of the country's economic difficulties. There have been shortcomings in the implementation of the second stage of the economic reform, which has come up against administrative and bureaucratic obstacles that hold back initiative and endeavor and prevent enterprises from becoming fully independent.

There has been a sharp increase in prices due to certain miscalculations when reviewing the structure of prices and incomes, which, coupled with shortages of basic commodities available on the market, has made people dissatisfied. Subversive elements have lost no time in exploiting this dissatisfaction, inciting some members of collectives at various enterprises—mainly young workers—to irresponsible actions and the promotion of slogans issued from abroad by the former "Solidarity" organization alongside their legitimate economic demands.

Under these conditions, from the very outset the discussion at the plenum was critical, self-critical, and to the point. The plenum participants demonstrated the new style of party work that has taken shape recently and a realistic approach to the vital issues concerning ordinary party members and all working people. They also avoided oversimplified assessments and formulas.

It was frankly emphasized that the roots of the social dissatisfaction in the country are a sign of the errors and miscalculations made when implementing even the most theoretically correct economic decisions. It was stated that a whole series of party organizations have weakened their ties with labor collectives and that party leaders

have not always been attentive to the criticism and legitimate demands made by working people. Workers who are members of the Central Committee impartially criticized representatives of the administration who still cling to outmoded administrative and bureaucratic work methods, sometimes stifle initiative, and are preventing the establishment of the team method and other progressive forms of labor organization.

Speakers were concerned by the slower pace set for resolving tasks by the second stage of the economic reform, which is literally bogged down in the quagmire of bureaucratic instructions and obstacles. The plenum also addressed some of its criticism to the government, which has not always listened to the trade unions when they warned of growing social tension in the country and understandable dissatisfaction among working people with the deteriorating living conditions and deepening social stratification of society. The Council of Ministers has been given emergency powers to solve these urgent problems. However, this has not yet produced any tangible results, the plenum participants pointed out.

Serious problems with young people were a source of particular concern to the party organizations' representatives. They drew attention to the fact that young, able workers sometimes have no opportunity to find use for their knowledge, strengths, and talents. Hence the alarming signs of apathy and pessimism among young men and women, which leads to unhealthy phenomena such as emigration. The housing problems facing young families and the difficult conditions in worker hostels have not been solved; cultural education work has been neglected. All this, it was noted at the plenum, makes young people ripe for the subversive activity of the political enemy. A number of speakers spoke of the need to change PZPR policy toward young people, on the basis of concern for the party's future.

Some speakers raised the question of whether all the blame for the social tension and the strikes should be laid on a handful of political opponents of socialism. In a whole series of instances, matters have been sparked by delays in solving problems, bureaucratic indifference, and a lack of attention to the opinions and demands of labor collectives.

In this connection, many speakers expressed the idea that, when resolving complex economic and political problems, the platform of national concord in the country should be broadened considerably and people holding different views, provided that they abide by the Constitution and try to make a positive contribution to solving the problems of Poland's future, should not be alienated. Support was voiced for the Polish leadership's recent proposal to hold a "roundtable" meeting involving the broadest circles of the public—irrespective of their views and world outlook—and also to form a council of national concord that would be responsible for drawing up a specific platform to broadly unite patriotic forces for the purpose of solving urgent economic and political problems.

The key problem now is for the party to go onto the offensive, W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, said in his closing speech at the plenum. The aim of this offensive will be to eliminate all remaining signs of tension in the country and to fully restore public order, a sense of security, and the conditions for normal work; change direction in economic policy and boost the implementation of the second stage of economic reform; and seek out all potential allies of the reforms to broaden the sphere of national concord. The start of this offensive is represented by the assessments, directions of activity, and decisions of this plenum, he said.

Against the background of recent events in the country, concern for the future of the reforms, the fate of families, and Poland itself has increased. Noting the recent deterioration in the country's economic situation and the difficulties in the way of economic reform, he stated that the criticism of the government made at the plenum was justified from many viewpoints. At its fall session the Sejm will assess its work and decide whether it can further continue its mission. Further changes are also needed in the party leadership, which must primarily be geared to broadening the participation of the younger generation.

Discussing the changes in the system of exercising authority planned in accordance with the guidelines of the 10th PZPR Congress, the speaker noted that this system must be based on a broader foundation of national concord. The present coalition forms of authority can be supplemented by trends, associations, and individuals prepared to cooperate on the basis of the constitutional order. Their scope is an open issue. There is just one inviolable condition: the socialist nature of the country's development.

The party will support any decisions that contribute to the increased strength and effectiveness of trade union activity and improve the "early warning" system, he continued. But it is opposed to proposals that would damage the unity of the working class and introduce the factor of political struggle to enterprises. The experience of both the distant and recent past clearly confirms the correctness of these fears.

The hotbeds of strike action are dying down considerably, W. Jaruzelski continued. But just as we were a long way from raising the "white flag," so are we now a long way from triumphant fanfares. The tension is passing but the problems remain. Even the most difficult problems must be solved by patient dialogue. The idea of a "roundtable" meeting is a good way to start this dialogue. After all, changes worthy of attention are taking place in groups which, until quite recently, took an

oblique view of reality, launched boycotts, and held a totally negative attitude. The passing of time is increasing the number of people who think rationally and are guided by concern for their country's future, and it is casting aside incurably confrontational elements. The rule of law is the only possible basis for any pacts, agreements, or coalitions, and it is necessary to ensure that all tendencies and sociopolitical forces act within the limits of the law, which is binding.

We are painfully aware of our difficulties and shortcomings, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee continued. But it is also true that Poland has never before enjoyed such a unique historical opportunity as the present. We have just, inviolable borders guaranteed by alliances, and we have considerable human and economic potential. We have made a decisive start on the path of far-reaching political and economic reforms. Relations between the church and the state are shaping up successfully. There is now a real possibility of broad national agreement. Favorable external conditions are being created by the coincidence of our socialist renewal with Soviet restructuring and with far-reaching changes throughout the socialist community. We must not miss this exceptional opportunity.

Progress in Poland's current reforms is being followed with great attention. But there are also forces trying once again to give Poland a special role: Perhaps they will succeed in questioning, slowing down, and compromising these processes, and all the more so because Polish affairs now have special international significance. After all, Poland can and must make an indubitably positive contribution, a contribution worthy of its people's traditions, potential, and aspirations, to the new relations in Europe and the rest of the world.

W. Jaruzelski concluded by expressing the belief that Poland will continue to confidently follow the path of renewed socialism close to the people. The party's historic duty to the people is to make this path less uneven and to speed up the necessary changes in order to more rapidly attain its goal of a just, well-organized, and prosperous Poland.

Plenum Issues Resolution

PM3108101988 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 31 Aug 88 p 3

[TASS report: "PZPR Central Committee Plenum Resolution"]

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Aug—The PZPR Central Committee affirms its resolve to pursue the policy of socialist renewal, economic reforms, democratization, and national accord. The process of implementing changes must be conducted with more consistency and at a faster pace—so says the resolution of the PZPR Central Committee 27-28 August Plenum, published here. The problems facing the country, the document notes, cannot be resolved by halfway measures and superficial changes, let alone by fruitless rejection and violation of the law.

The Central Committee approved the assessments and conclusions contained in the Politburo report and the closing speech delivered at the plenum by W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and expressed support for the policy guidelines and practical measures formulated in them.

The resolution lays down the specific tasks of party organizations and all party members for the swiftest solution of topical economic and political problems. The government, jointly with trade unions and other public organizations, was instructed to speed up work on the review of policy principles in the sphere of prices and incomes. The PZPR Central Committee deemed it necessary to prepare by the end of October a plan for the national economy's consolidation in 1988-90, with special emphasis on improving living conditions for the population, overcoming inflation, restoring market equilibrium, and strengthening the national currency.

The resolution affirms the determination to pursue the course of democratic changes, the development of civil freedoms, and the consolidation of law and order. The most urgent and most important political task is to shape a broad coalition of forces in support of reforms and to ensure collaboration among all those who wish to play an active part in the process of changes. The plenum supported the initiative to establish a council of national accord which could become a forum for work on a joint electoral platform for the next Sejm elections and for agreement on a formula for public representation in parliament. Once it was vested with power by the Sejm, the council could solve the question of creating a second chamber of parliament, instituting the office of president of the Republic, and other reforms.

The document supports the proposal to start talks without delay with representatives of different social and professional strata. The Central Committee declared its decisive support for the reborn Polish trade unions and for initiatives which, while enriching the trade union movement model in Poland, meet the working people's expectations but do not lead to splits and political struggle in enterprises.

Warning 'Time Limit' Examined

LD3008214288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2045 GMT 30 Aug 88

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Igor Charikov]

[Text] Today in Poland the time limit of the warning runs out. This warning is contained in the statement by the minister of labor and social policy of the Polish

People's Republic in connection with the continuation at some enterprises of illegal strikes. If the participants in the illegal strikes do not resume work by Wednesday, that is, by today [31 August], the leaders of the enterprises are obliged to apply to the strikers the means and sanctions available under the law, up to and including dissolution of the work contract. To date it is known that hotbeds of illegal strikes are being maintained in Szczecin's port and on the buses, in Gdansk at a number of shipyards, and also at the July Manifesto Mine and the Stalowa Wola Combine. The extremists from underground groupings are constantly working on the strikers with the aim of continuing the actions.

There is a special aspect to the question of the strikes at the Stalowa Wola Combine and at the northern yard in Gdansk. These enterprises have the status of enterprises of the defense industry. For this reason, the strike is not only disorganizing production, but it also runs counter to the interests of state security. Such enterprises operate on the basis of special legal norms which are well known to the workforce. One of the fundamental provisions of this document and one which also is a part of the law on trade unions is a ban on any strikes.

State 'Cannot Cope' With Unrest

PM3008171488 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent L. Toporkov "Letter From Warsaw": "Stormy August"]

[Text] "A stab in the back for reforms." This is how people in Poland appraise the illegal strikes by groups of workers in mines, sea ports, shipyards, and some other enterprises which are still continuing in a number of industrial centers. Strikes which are, as described here, like occupations. Occupations in the literal sense of the word. So-called strikers seize an enterprise or some of its sections and, using violence, prevent the majority from continuing their normal work.

A paradoxical situation has developed: A minuscule proportion of occupiers, manipulated by bosses of the former "Solidarity," are blackmailing the entire state. Moreover, they are trying to create the impression that if law and order enforcement organs dare invade their territory, this would be an infringement of human rights. It cannot be denied that this "logic" is really topsy-turvy.

What are they after? Why has the wave of disorder surged again? Answering these questions, J. Urban, press spokesman of the Polish Government, noted at a recent news conference: The dialogue with the most diverse strata of society has become more intensive during the last few weeks. There has been talk about the upcoming important reforms of the state system and of key legal acts to further advance the process of the democratization of social life. There has been discussion of participation in this democratization process by people holding different political views and, consequently, of their influence on the course of affairs in the state, the economy, and the country's entire life. Poland has been experiencing the impact of M.S. Gorbachev's visit. His stay here was a demonstration of the new thinking and vivid changes in Polish-Soviet relations. Relations with the West have also improved. There was the successful meeting between W. Jaruzelski and Cardinal J. Glemp, primate of Poland. Preparations have been under way for the scheduled Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which was to give a new impetus to the implementation of the reform program.

Some people did not like these incipient positive developments toward a better life, and some people were quite worried by them. Those still living in the past wished to obstruct the positive process and, as happened in 1981, to throw the country into the abyss of chaos and anarchy. There was something else: That was a way to earn the millions of dollars specially appropriated by the U.S. Congress to support the political opposition in Poland.

It has to be bluntly said: The enemies of People's Poland achieved their goal—a tangible blow has been dealt to the Republic's economy. The direct loss suffered by the national economy is already in excess of Z10 billion. There has been a reduction in coal deliveries to meet the needs of industry, agriculture, and exports. As of Sunday, 28 August the shortfall in deliveries by Katowice mines was in excess of 700,000 tonnes of fuel, including a large proportion of coking coal. Consequently, the coking batteries of the "Katowice" Combine are on starvation rations.

This, alas, is not the end of the list of losses. It grows with each passing day. Here is a report from Szczecin, where the self-styled strike committee is torpedoing talks with the port administration: Dozens of ships are waiting to be loaded. Just one example: A West German ship simply sailed out of Szczecin empty. And $160,000 sailed away with it. People say that a forest grows slowly and burns down quickly. It took 4 years for Szczecin's port workers to regain the trust of Western clients which was lost in the wake of the 1981 events. During the first 6 months alone entrepreneurs from the FRG, Switzerland, and Austria paid more than $1.5 million into the port's coffers. And suddenly the mechanism which seemed to be functioning so well has broken down. Foreign contractors are withdrawing their currency deposits from the port's accounts. The daily loss is calculated at Z1.2 million. Who can say how many years it will take to regain the reputation of a solid trading partner? It was loudly proclaimed that an international free-trade zone was to be set up near Szczecin, and large hopes were pinned on it, including by port workers. Now these plans have been put off indefinitely.

In this way the workers themselves, incited by political adventurers, have undermined their own interests. The strike has delayed the expected wage increase. The port's account now holds only Z300 million—a minuscule sum

for such a huge enterprise. Meanwhile, the strikers are stubbornly demanding a substantial pay raise. They are demanding money which they have not earned, and they are actually saying: Pay us for being idle, for the days on strike, as if for...annual leave!

Newspapers note that the second stage of the economic reform will give complete financial autonomy to enterprises. Work hard, earn profits, and it is up to you to allocate whatever you have gained. Some hope! Asked why they have stopped work, the port workers replied: Let them bring it in and hand it out. Who? "They," of course. "They" are the authorities. And there they are, waiting for manna from heaven instead of working and earning.

Strange as it may seem, the strikers and those who inspire them—those who formerly screamed at the top of their lungs about the need for reforms, economic independence, and self-management and accused the authorities of conservatism—are now actually adopting the stance of fierce opponents of reforms and socialist renewal. They are burning down everything they used to worship, as it were. They are proving to be the forces of yesterday, conservatives and dogmatists.

Nothing can justify the aggressive actions by striking groups which usurp authority over the territory they occupy, the local mass media emphasize. A dramatic situation developed at the "30th Anniversary of the Polish People's Republic" Mine, for example, one of the country's largest. A dangerous concentration of methane has been registered at the pit faces, potentially explosive mixtures are forming, but the occupiers have not allowed safety workers in to descend. The social tension created in the country by the strikers has had an immediate effect on the daily life of Polish citizens. Consumermania has flared up. Commodities, primarily goods like sugar, flour and flour products, groats, and cheeses, are being bought out on a massive scale. This is another of the goals pursued by the political provocateurs. It is important for them to use every means to obstruct the process of improving life and to give the world the impression that People's Poland is a chronically ailing society.

Of course, the strike organizers are exploiting what they consider to be a "favorable" economic situation in the country whereby many goods are still in short supply, inflation is rising, and there is no clear-cut prices and incomes policy, while the reform program is not always being implemented consistently and decisively. People lack a sense of social and economic security. According to the newspaper RZECZPOSPOLITA, the organization of labor and its low productivity remain the weak side of economic management. Subjective mistakes are being committed in the course of implementing reforms, and the market is poorly supplied. This has an effect on the public mood and causes anxiety among the people. The process of social discontent is developing faster, ZYCIE WARSZAWY adds, than the process of economic transformations. This is what is applying the brake on the situation, the newspaper emphasizes. The administration, the main author of the reforms, cannot cope with it. It cannot because radical reforms are against its nature and its interests. Because of its bureaucratic nature, it will always retain the lion's share of decisionmaking, striving to enmesh freedom of initiative in a net of restrictions and all sorts of prescriptions.

This entire vast range of problems perturbing society was the topic of extensive, blunt discussion at the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum on 27-28 August. The plenum made a frankly merciless analysis of society's sociopolitical and economic condition and brought to light the causes of the delayed implementation of the reforms. It was asserted that the problems cannot be solved either by the weapon of strikes or by using force against them. What is needed is purposeful organizational work producing specific results, a broad dialogue leading to national accord. The government's activity was subjected to critical appraisal. This discussion will be continued in September at an emergency session of the Polish Sejm.

...But let us revert to the illegal strikes, the main event of the recent time which is alarming all of Polish society. The wave of strikes is slowly abating. Only 1 mine, instead of 11, is now occupied by strikers. The number of strikers in Szczecin, Gdansk, and the "Stalowa Wola" metallurgical plant is diminishing every day. The public welcomed with satisfaction the statement by General Cz. Kiszczak, Poland's minister of internal affairs, who, as chairman of the government Committee on Questions of Observing the Law on Public Order and Discipline, was authorized to offer to representatives of the various strata of society the proposal to join a "roundtable" without any preliminary conditions and embark on a discussion of the problems worrying the people. Of course, those who maliciously disregard law and order and the Constitution cannot take part in these talks.

At long last, common sense and the supreme state interests of People's Poland must prevail. It is commonly held that these are the conclusions to be drawn from the lessons of the stormy events of August 1988.

Talyzin, Romania's Andrei Address Moscow Exhibit
AU3108075488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0620 GMT 31 Aug 88

["Another Impetus to the Romanian-Soviet Economic Cooperation"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Moscow, AGERPRES, 31/08/1988—An exhibition of Romania's national economy was officially opened in Moscow on 29 August. The exhibition on the

theme "Romania '88" illustrates the growth of Romania's foreign economic relations within which an important place is held by the economic cooperation and collaboration with the USSR. The exhibition is meant to give another impetus to the Romanian-Soviet economic cooperation.

The exhibition synthetically presents the successes of the Romanian industry—which developed strongly more particularly after the Ninth RCP Congress (1965) manufacturing a wide range of products on a par with world's most advanced technology. It illustrates the powerful development witnessed by machine building, including branches and sub-branches like lathe, road, naval and air transport means production, the extractive industry and power engineering, the production of complex industrial equipment, of farm machinery and others.

Arresting attention are the achievements of Romania's industry: large-capacity high-yield drilling plant, technological equipment for the chemical and petrochemical industries, machines used in construction, wide range of Romanian motor vehicles, trucks, tractors, buses, minibuses, utility vans, "Dacia", "Oltcit" and "Aro" cars. On display are also complex working equipment: numerically controlled lathes of various sizes, flexible cells for robot-assisted turning, plant and equipment for the power, extractive chemical, metal, wood-working and food industries and others.

Other stands show achievements of the Romanian chemical and petrochemical industries displaying dummies of complex chemical works and plants exported to countries on all continents, USSR included, just as a broad spectrum of chemicals ranging from fertilizers, tyres, plastics, synthetic fibre and yarn to lacquers and dyes, pharmaceuticals and cosmetics etc.

Taking the floor during the opening ceremony, N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU, first vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, welcomed that significant event in Soviet - Romanian collaboration. Showing the exhibition to have opened shortly after the celebration of the day of Romania's liberation from the fascist yoke—the 44th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation—the speaker pointed out that socialism had lastingly asserted itself on Romanian soil, representing the corner stone and the backbone of the Romanian people's social outlook and consciousness.

Of the numerous bright aspects that characterize Socialist Romania's image of today, he said, the exhibition outlines the real results and successes scored by the Romanian working people in the years of building the new-type society, proves the growing potential of the Romanian economy and highlights its great availabilites. Soviet people follow with keen attention the brotherly Romanian people's life, the processes of socialist construction in Romania.

Soviet-Romanian collaboration, he further pointed out, is many-sided. It means political, legal, economic, cultural and other relations. The determination and firmness to further advance on the road of strengthening friendship were proved by the results of the Bucharest meeting in May 1987 between the leaders of the two fraternal parties—Comrades M.S. Gorbachev and Nicolae Ceausescu.

Stressing that Soviet-Romanian economic collaboration boasted a mutual aspiration after a stable character, after its continuous development, to meet the fundamental interests and the requirements of economies of the two countries, the speaker said: For many years now the Soviet Union has been Romania's major trading partner. Our bilateral economic relations follow an ascending course. Further broad possibilities of collaboration open as a result of the development of the process of manysided restructuring under way in our country, as part of the implementation of the resolutions of the 19th conference of the party, which also means broad cooperation in and specialization of production, the application of new, efficient forms of collaboration. It also means the establishment of direct production links and the creation of joint enterprises, of scientific collectivities and of central departments in the field of science, production, and others.

Giving an example of direct cooperation is Romania's contribution to the building, in the territory of the USSR, of a mining combine at Krivoy Rog and to the capitalization of the natural gas deposits at Sovetabad in the Turkmen SSR, as well as the collaboration in the building of a transit gas pipe on Romania's territory.

The decisions reached by the 44th meeting of the CEMA session also create favourable conditions for the expansion of economic cooperation between our two countries.

We believe that the exhibition, acquainting the Soviet people with the Romanian people's successes in the years of socialist construction and highlighting the level attained by Romania's economy at present, will serve the further development and expansion of Romanian-Soviet economic, technical and scientific collaboration, the speaker said in conclusion.

In his address, Stefan Andrei, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister of Romania, showed: The national exhibition "Romania '88"—the largest Romanian exhibitional event abroad this year—takes place in the frame of the anniversary of 44 years since the victorious antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation, a historic act that paved the road to the attainment of the Romanian people's ideal of and aspirations for justice and freedom, to the building of the socialist society in Romania.

The exhibition mirrors the Romanian people's outstanding accomplishments under the leadership of its Communist Party on the road of revolutionarily transforming the Romanian society in the 44 years elapsed since the victorious antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation, Romania turning into an industrial-agrarian state with a powerful, modern industry and a socialist agriculture in full progress, that boasts ever higher welfare and civilization standards.

Particularly important achievements have been scored by consistently translating into fact the political line adopted at the Ninth RCP Congress which, 23 years ago, marked the most significant moment in the building of the new system opening up the path for the plenary participation and assertion of the whole people in this historical work.

The allotment of roughly one third of the national income to development allowed for the country's industrial output to grow more than 120 times from 1945, the farm output over six times and the national income almost 33 times. Scientific research, education, culture developed strongly making a decisive contribution to the settlement of the complex problems of scientific and technical progress.

In implementing its programmes our country attaches special importance to the evolution of international economic links and of its cooperation in production with other states, the speaker said. Romania promotes active economic ties with 155 states on all continents, with socialist countries, with the CEMA countries in the first place, with developing countries, with all the states of the world irrespective of their social system.

An important place within the aggregate of our foreign economic relations is held by the ties of economic cooperation with the Soviet Union—ties firmly set on the principles of fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs and reciprocal advantage, of solidarity and comradely mutual assistance.

Significant for the scope of the relations between our countries is the fact that the Soviet Union ranks first in Romania's foreign economic links as a whole. Mutual goods exchanges follow an ascending course, production specialization and cooperation in production develop successfully, our country takes part in the building of important economic units in the Soviet Union.

The talks held and understanding covenanted at top level between the RCP General Secretary and President of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu and the General Secretary of the CC of the CPSU Mikhail Gorbachev played and continue to play a role of highest importance for the development of cooperation, of production specialization and the cooperation in production between our countries. Each time the meetings between the two party leaders went down as moments of reference in the ever more powerful growth of the cooperation and solidarity between our peoples, in the opening of new and fertile paths for their cooperation, in the carrying through of new ventures of economic cooperation and collaboration between the two countries.

The long-term programme for the development of economic, technical and scientific collaboration between Romania and the USSR for the period until the year 2000, signed at top level, offers an optimal framework for the expansion and diversification of economic, technical and scientific relations, in line with the growing possibilities in the national economies of our two countries. The Romanian people's achievements, as well as the successes scored by the peoples of the Soviet Union in the building of a complex and harmonious economy lay a solid foundation for the expansion and diversification of relations of collaboration, of cooperation in and specialization of production between our two countries, for the benefit of socialist and communist construction, of the strengthening of international peace and collaboration, the speaker said in conclusion.

Talyzin Sees Off Andrei 30 Aug

LD3008234788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The Romanian delegation led by Andrei, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and deputy prime minister of the fraternal country, departed our country today. The delegation took part in the opening of a national exhibition of the Socialist Republic of Romania. At the airport, the delegation was seen off by Comrade Talyzin and other officials. Also included in the send-off party was Bucur, Romanian ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Latin America & Caribbean

Possibility Gorbachev May Visit Mexico

FL3008120788 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 0600 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Mexico City, 29 Aug (NOTIMEX)—Soviet Ambassador to Mexico Rostislav Sergeyev said the highest leader of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, may make an official visit to Mexico before President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado's administration ends.

In an interview at the Mexico City international airport, the diplomat said that the Mexican Government has officially invited Gorbachev to visit but a date has not yet been determined.

Sergeyev also stressed the need for new efforts to solve the Central American conflict and he rejected the military aid some countries receive from world powers as being a measure contrary to a political solution. He said that during the next period of sessions at the United

Nations, the conflict in Central America, as well as other conflicts, will be extensively discussed in order to adopt a resolution that will end the crisis in the region. The envoy said that the USSR feels that the time has come to take decisive steps that will resolve all conflicts in such regions as Afghanistan, Cyprus, the Middle East, and South Africa.

In conclusion, Sergeyev stressed the signing of an economic and scientific-technical bilateral cooperation agreement between Mexico and the Soviet Union.

Brazilian Air Force Deputy Minister Visits

LD3108035488 Moscow TASS in English 1225 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 30 TASS—C. Rosa Filho, chief of the Air Force General Headquarters, deputy minister of the Air Force General Headquarters, deputy minister of the Air Force of Brazil, is currently on a visit in the Soviet Union at the invitation of Aleksandr Yefimov, commander-in-chief of the Air Force of the USSR.

In the course of the visit, C. Rosa Filho had meetings with Boris Korolkov, first deputy commander-in-chief of the Soviet Air Force, and Igor Maltsev, chief of staff of the air defence general headquarters.

The Brazilian guest visited the Air Force garrison in Kubinka, near Moscow, to acquaint himself with the military equipment and the life of Soviet pilots, the Higher Air Force School in Kachinsk and the space training centre.

Ortega Extends Suspension of Operations

LD3008104988 Moscow TASS in English 0650 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Managua August 30 TASS—Nicaragua's President Daniel Ortega has announced prolongation till September 30 this year of the unilateral cessation of offensive operations of the Sandinist People's Army against the armed counter-revolutionary forces.

Speaking in Managua on Monday, he said that this measure taken by the government for yet another time provides to the contras a possibility to lay down arms, stop terrorist activities and join peaceful life.

Ortega underlined the need for resumption of activities of the international commission for verification and control over the Guatemala agreements in Central American countries. He declared once again for placing on the Nicaraguan-Honduran frontier an international security force to guarantee termination of mercenary gangs' terrorist activities against Nicaragua from the territory of Honduras.

TASS Withdrawal From Guatemala Clarified

PA3108011388 Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 29 Aug 88 p 30

[Text] A press communique issued by the Presidency's Public Relations Secretariat states that TASS, the Soviet news agency, has withdrawn from the country on its own volition and not because of a lack of government protection.

According to the document, reporter Enrique Mora, TASS' Central American representative, was in the country to remove furniture and equipment.

He also meet with President Vinico Cerezo and the Presidency's Public Relations Secretary Claudia Arenas Bianchi.

The communique states that "the meetings were held under identical circumstances afforded all foreign correspondents."

Finally, the communique adds that TASS did not withdraw because of a lack of protection from the government of the Republic.

Political & Social

Vezirov Views NKAO Development, Resolution

PM3008141588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 88 Second Edition p 3

[Z. Kadymbekov account of statement by A.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, under the "Our Interview" rubric: "Much Work Lies Ahead. In the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Today"; date and place of interview not given—first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] The fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Measures To Accelerate the Socioeconomic Development of the Azerbaijan SSR's Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] in 1988-1995" is now the most important task of the republic's party, soviet, and economic organs. What has to be done, what difficulties are being encountered along the path of implementing the plans? A.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, spoke about this to PRAVDA correspondent Z. Kadymbekov.

The main efforts are concentrated on ensuring that the work is done without any more delay—to develop the construction base, erect housing at a faster pace, and implement the planning and construction of an oblast hospital, a Palace of Culture in Stepanakert, general education schools, and other social facilities. The funds and the material and technical resources which have been allocated made it possible to commission ahead of schedule the first stage of the oblast television center. For 3 months now it has been broadcasting local programs in the Armenian language. Since the television center's commissioning, residents of Stepanakert have also been able to receive Central Television and Yerevan Television programs. In the future, as the network of relay stations is expanded, residents in isolated localities of the autonomous oblast will also be able to receive these programs.

There is a realistic chance of commissioning next year a series of housing blocks, preschool institutions, and facilities for cultural and consumer service purposes. Preparatory work is being done to embark on the construction and reconstruction of some industrial and agricultural enterprises envisaged by the program. The capacity of Stepanakert's furniture factory will be expanded; work will begin on building a mixed feed plant in Askeran. Next year we will start building a canning plant and a dairy combine, and laying gas mains for supplying rayon centers and villages.

The volume of work on the refitting and reconstruction of Stepanakert Airport has been defined. Surveyors are working along the banks of the Badarachay River, where it is planned to construct a water reservoir with a capacity of 10 million cubic meters. Once commissioned, the problem of water supplies for the oblast's agriculture will be largely resolved.

A site was recently earmarked in the oblast center for a new printing house which will use the offset method to print oblast and rayon newspapers and books and brochures in the Armenian language. The planning work on the printing house will be completed by the year's end. The printing base in the oblast has already been significantly consolidated, with equipment arriving from the GDR, the CSSR, and India, as well as Soviet-made equipment. We are looking into the question of establishing a press association [obyedineniye po pechati] in the NKAO which will incorporate newspaper editorial offices and an oblast printing enterprise with production sections in rayon centers. Hitherto all textbooks were imported into the autonomous oblast, but once the printing base is expanded it might become possible to print some of them locally, including the full set of textbooks in the Armenian language for 6-year-old first grade pupils. Questions concerning the supply of appropriate literature in the Armenian language to NKAO educational establishments have been discussed with the Armenian SSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade.

Much attention is being given to the satisfaction of other cultural demands by the oblast's Armenian population. An important step along this path will be taken by opening a House of Books, Library Collection, and Book Base in Stepanakert and an Armenian Drama Theater in Baku.

Plans for training cadres for the oblast in 1988-1990 have been coordinated with the USSR Gosplan and the USSR State Committee for Public Education. Specifically, places in 42 specialized spheres will be made available to Armenian residents of the NKAO in Armenian SSR education establishments. It must also be noted that this year a group of young people from the autonomous oblast were admitted to VUZ's in Azerbaijan, Armenia, and elsewhere in the country without having to take entrance examinations.

In conformity with the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution, work is now being done to develop a comprehensive program for the oblast's economic and social development in the period through 2005.

It cannot be denied that much strenuous work lies ahead, work which demands the mobilization and pooling of all efforts. Only then will it be possible to implement the plans. It can be said that the pace at the initial stage is fair. It could have been faster and the results could have been more significant had it not been for the passiveness, and in some cases even resistance, on the part of some leaders of oblast organizations and institutions. As a result of delays in the submission of initial data and the allocation of land plots, the planning of the bus terminus,

the Palace of Culture, and one plant's subsidiary is dragging on, we are unable to start work on the construction of the rayon communications center in Mardakert, and the work to expand the Stepanakert Electrical Equipment Plant is encountering difficulties. I must also say that not all union ministries and departments have really actively joined in implementing the resolution.

In conclusion I would like to emphasize in particular that Azerbaijan's party, soviet, and economic organs perceive the fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution as a matter of great state importance, aimed at improving the situation and creating better living, working, and consumer service conditions for the NKAO's population. The progress of the program's fulfillment is being monitored on a daily basis by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the republic Council of Ministers and is reviewed on a monthly basis at sessions of the Central Committee Bureau and the Council of Ministers Presidium. Even the best intentions and the best plans will fail to produce the desired result unless people get down to joint, concerted work, bearing in mind that shock work and selfless labor are the guarantees of success.

Shcherbina, Arutyunyan Tour Nuclear Plants
NC3008130688 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Yerevan, 29 Aug, ARMENPRES—B. Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers, visited the republic on 27 August.

B. Shcherbina and S. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee, visited the Armenian nuclear power plant and the Razdanskiy power plant.

Energy development in the Transcaucasus and in the republic was discussed. Also, proposals by scientists and experts on the phased (?exploitation) of the Armenian nuclear power plant [word indistinct] were studied.

Great attention was paid to ways of ensuring the safe and successful operation of the Armenian nuclear power plant.

F. Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, and high-ranking guests from Moscow accompanied B. Shcherbina and S. Arutyunyan on their visit.

Estonia's Saul Assesses Parties, Economic Ties
PM2908184188 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 24 Aug 88 p 20

[Report on 23 August Helsinki interview with Estonian Prime Minister Bruno Saul by Staffan Bruun: "Estonia Going Its Own Way. 'All Political Groupings Allowed'"]

[Excerpts] "In Estonia there is political pluralism. All shades of opinion are able to operate freely today," Estonian Prime Minister Bruno Saul assured me yesterday in Helsinki, on the eve of the expected demonstrations on the other side of the Gulf of Finland to mark the 49th anniversary of the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact, which in practice put an end to the independence of the Baltic states in 1939.

Bruno Saul is in Finland to negotiate increased economic cooperation between Finland and Estonia. The last few months have also meant a complete thaw in the social debate in Estonia. Today the "party for Estonia's national independence" is operating freely without any interference from the authorities.

HUFVUDSTADSBLADET yesterday had a 5-minute meeting with Bruno Saul before a lunch with his Finnish hosts. The interview was broken off by a Foreign Ministry official who said that Prime Minister Saul did not have time for interviews. Before this Bruno Saul did have time to give an assurance that the new radical independence party will be allowed to operate freely.

"All types of new organizations can be founded as long as they follow the principles of socialism, humanism, justice, internationalism, and the preservation of Estonia's cultural individuality.

"The popular front for increased independence, the organization for Estonian cultural traditions, and the Greens all do so. Then there are also organizations which are extreme. They do not play a large role, but are very small."

[Bruun] Are they allowed to operate freely?

"Of course. But they cannot be registered. Also, the authorities do not bother about what they are up to."

Bruno Saul assured me that Estonia advocates all movements and currents which contribute to the positive development of socialism. This includes the investment of foreign capital in Estonia.

"We welcome Finnish investments. That is why I am here for talks. In the past we only talked at this level about deals worth millions. Now and in the future we are ready for deals in the thousands of rubles class."

Bruno Saul has already said that Estonia is ready for full economic independence and self-financing within a few months. However, according to Saul, economic independence requires that all enterprises in the Soviet republic should have the same status. According to Saul, this will be achieved within the next year.

"Under perestroyka the position of the small and medium-sized enterprises in particular is being underlined. It is precisely such enterprises which interest Estonia, to help satisfy the population's need for consumer goods.

"The reforms in foreign trade have also made even small deals possible. This offers small and medium-sized Finnish firms completely new opportunities for trade," Saul said.

The most important aim of Saul's visit to Finland is to establish contacts with Finnish companies. Despite the fact that no concrete deals have been discussed, many Finnish businessmen take an optimistic view of the future. [passage omitted]

Lithuanians Worried Over Detained Soldier's Fate
LD3008165888 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The Lithuanian public, the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka, as well as creative and other organizations express concern over the destiny of Arturas Sakalauskas, a youth doing his military service in the Soviet Army.

I must recall at this point that Arturas Sakalauskas was doing his military service in Leningrad, and being no longer able to stand constant jeering and even torturing by the servicemen who had been called up earlier on, Arturas Sakalauskas shot dead last year—in a state of great agitation—a number of soldiers. During the investigation procedure he contracted a mental disease and began to undergo treatment under a strict observation at a specialized hospital in Leningrad. [passage omitted]

The young man's destiny continues to be an object of great concern. The Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR wrote a letter to the Supreme Court of the USSR in which they asked that opportunities be sought to change the conditions of Sakalauskas' treatment. A report has come in from the Soviet parliament that they are considering very seriously the letter sent here by a support group of Arturas Sakalauskas of the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka. This letter contains a request that the patient be transferred to the mental hospital of Naujoji Vilnia, and that the formulation of his indictment be altered. The letter was signed by thousands of Lithuanian citizens.

The Lithuanian Government supports the idea of the Lithuanian film studios to make a documentary film about Arturas Sakalauskas and his state and circumstances of his crime.

Seminar Views Improving Services in Ukraine
AU3008142588 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 27 Aug 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] What has to be done in line with the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the July (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenum to speed up restructuring in trade, public catering, and consumer cooperatives; to eliminate the shortcomings existing in this sphere; and to boost the efficiency of services to the population? These and other issues were examined at a recent seminar held at the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee headquarters, in which obkom and Kiev Gorkom secretaries in charge of trade participated. The seminar was chaired by I.A. Mozgovoy, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary.

Before the opening of the seminar, the participants visited trade enterprises in Vinnitsa, Kiev, Crimean, Nikolayev, Poltava, Kherson, and Chernigov Oblasts, and in the city of Kiev. They were particularly interested in the organization of trade services for the population in Ternopol Oblast. Reports at the seminar were delivered by A.S. Statinov, Ukrainian SSR minister of trade, and A.I. Levchuk, chairman of the board of the Ukrainian Union of Consumers Societies. Opinions were exchanged in an intense and constructive manner. [passage omitted]

It was noted that many negative phenomena were caused by the inadequate application of the new management mechanism in trade, by the insufficient development of the cooperative movement, and by the slow dissemination of advanced experience. Under such circumstances, it is highly important to improve work among trade cadres. It is essential to engage in this sphere more creative and enterprising people who are highly competent in working in the economy and who are prepared to accomplish the new tasks.

The seminar was attended by responsible functionaries of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, Council of Ministers, ministries, and departments.

APN's Gvodev Reviews Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact
LD3008131088 London MORNING STAR in English 30 Aug 88 p 4

[APN correspondent Yuriy Gvodev article: "Remembering the Pact"]

[Text] On September 1, 1939, Nazi Germany attacked Poland and signalled the start of the Second World War. Each anniversary of an event of such a scope usually gives grounds not only for thoughts but also for speculation. This year's anniversary is no exception.

It is claimed in the West that Soviet-German nonaggression pact might have triggered off the war, and that in the current conditions of democratisation and glasnost the Soviet Union might revise its assessment of the pact.

I believe these speculations were dispelled during a press conference of Soviet historians on the pre-war situation in Europe. The press conference took place at NOVOSTI press agency [APN] in Moscow and was opened by NOVOSTI Chairman Valentin Falin, who is himself an historian.

Mr Falin stated that there was a need for an objective and strictly scientific attitude to the problem: "We should learn to abide by facts alone, and should not disregard the conditions and events of those years," he said.

How do we classify the Soviet-German non-aggression pact, which was signed on August 23, 1939? Having again analysed the situation at that time, historians confirm that the pact was the only reasonable alternative for the Soviet Union.

The situation at that time was the result of the attitude of Britain and France which was based on their ideological prejudice towards the Soviet Union. They thwarted the USSR's persistent efforts to create a system of collective security in Europe.

Conservative circles in the West saw Hitler's Germany as a spearhead against the Soviet Union, clearing the way to the East for it. The Munich deal, concluded on September 29, 1938, was the culmination of that policy, and was aimed at dividing and eventually eliminating Czechoslovakia.

But the aims of the deal went further than that. In the opinion of historian Lev Bezymenskiy the Munich deal gave the green light to Hitler's aggression.

The events that followed the deal were irreversible. In October 1938 a Soviet representative in Prague reported that, in Munich, Hitler had managed to persuade Chamberlain and Deladier that it was not Berlin but Moscow, the "Bolshevist stronghold", that presented a serious threat to peace in Europe.

I believe that Hitler did not have to try very hard to influence Paris and London—they were both sunk deep in ideological prejudice.

It is indicative that by encouraging Czechoslovakia to capitulate, Britain and France deliberately deprived that country of any alternative.

They did not fulfil their own treaty obligations with respect to Czechoslovakia and refused to come out in its support together with the Soviet Union. What is more, they persuaded their allies to act in the same way.

As a result, Poland and Romania refused to allow Red Army troops to pass through their territories, thereby blocking Soviet assistance to Czechoslovakia.

Hitler, for his part, allowed Poland to participate in the division of its southern neighbour. Active negotiations were going on between Berlin and Warsaw on a joint "crusade against Russia."

At the same time, there are ample grounds to say that the Soviet-German non-aggression pact decided the future of Poland. Long before its conclusion, on April 3, 1939, Berlin decided to start the attack "not later than September 1." This was known to Paris, London, Washington and Moscow.

This was why the Soviet Union was working so persistently for the creation of a military alliance with Britain and France by August of that year.

Versions of secret protocols allegedly attached to the Soviet-German pact were also considered at the press conference. It has been alleged that in line with the protocols the Soviet Union and Germany agreed on the inclusion of the Baltic area into the Soviet Union.

Unfortunately, no original documents have been found in the archives so far. But there are publications in connection with the pact which appeared in the newspapers PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA in 1939, which show that this allegation about the Baltic deal is untrue.

According to these publications, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia were within the scope of Soviet interests. But no more.

At that time such a statement amounted to erecting a barrier in the way of German aggression.

It is worth recalling in this connection that from the autumn of 1937, Hitler had repeated more than once that the future of the Third Reich depended not so much on an expansion to the West, as on an expansion to the Baltic area and Russian territory. Hitler had cut off a piece of Lithuania by annexing Klaipeda.

The Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian historians who spoke at the press conference refuted the allegation that the Soviet Union "occupied" the territory of their countries.

An overwhelming majority of Lithuanians, Letts and Estonians made a voluntary choice in favour of acceding to the Soviet Union in the face of the threat of German occupation.

Reading the press conference documents, I thought of the many grievances that would have been avoided if, in the'30s, the three powers, France, Britain and the Soviet Union, had been capable of collectively repelling the Nazi threat.

For this, Paris and London would have had to put their policies above anti-Sovietism. This is a bitter lesson for all.

Today, the survival of humanity is at stake. The successful East-West dialogue, the Soviet-US INF Treaty and other positive changes inspire optimism.

Common sense is overcoming the legacy of the cold war. But time cannot wait—swifter progress is necessary to a nuclear-free and non-violent world, which will be secure for all.

Ligachev Attends Discussion on Monuments

LD2908124988 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1828 GMT on 28 August carries a 20-minute program entitled "Historical Monuments, Our Pride and Pain," presented by Ye. Sinitsyn. The program begins with shots of Sinitsyn speaking in general terms about monuments and their role in the life of the Soviet people. The camera shows a number of historical monuments and people visiting and viewing them. Sinitsyn is then shown interviewing metal worker V.A. Komzolin, who talks about the educational value of monuments, especially war memorials. Sinitsyn then quotes Lenin on the importance of monuments and of remembering the past, and recalls that the question of monuments was raised at the party conference. Sinitsyn continues: Recently the Party Central Committee examined the activity of the All-Russian Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments. When he came to the town of Gorkiy, Yegor Ligachev met with local activists of the society. There was a lively [vzvolnovanyy], businesslike, and constructive—as they now say—dialogue. Everyone had the chance to express what was dear to him. The accompanying video shows Ligachev at a meeting, shots of the audience, and Ligachev sitting at table.

The video continues, with Ligachev saying: "Comrades, what is a society without historical memory? It is a tree without roots. Try to deprive our society of memory and of all the creations of material culture that our people have created. It would be uncomfortable in such a society, to say the least. The country is now going through a particular period, a period of socialist renewal and further development. Under these conditions, under conditions of democratization and glasnost, as you know, the interest of our people in history, in the motherland, in their native country, has grown greatly. This is a good thing, comrades. It is good that to preserve and use historical and cultural monuments the movement has acquired a truly mass nature."

The video then cuts to views of monuments and people in the streets.

Sinitsyn says: "We have been through different periods of development, and our attitude to historical monuments has almost always been determined by that development, the degree of democratism, the ability of society to live in a creative way. It wasn't always like that." The video returns to show the Gorkiy meeting, with Ligachev speaking. Ligachev says: "There was so much that I would say was parasitic, alien, and negative, which every year slowed down our advance. Such phenomena had developed, especially in the atmosphere of morality, and in the social and economic sphere too, which were like shackles preventing us from moving forward. And there really had grown up a great danger to the whole of our party, which could have turned into a conceited party, a party which, so to speak, had a fate in store for it like many other political parties, if we look into the past, so to speak." [sentence as heard]

Ligachev continues: "In evaluating acutely everything that happened in the past, including our mistakes—and there were crimes too—we must—and I think this would be in accordance with our mood and way of thinking, so to speak, and our patriotism—evaluate correctly everything that was done, not by us, but by whole generations. And in the most difficult historical conditions as well. I think we must speak not only about the crimes and mistakes, although this is extremely important, but we must not cross out—and this actually was said at the 19th party conference, and stressed particularly strongly—everything that was achieved in our history. When we in the Secretariat discussed the question—and we studied it quite deeply beforehand—not only in Russia but in the other republics, too, we came up against different attitudes to this matter. I will tell you straight that we were glad that many party, soviet, state and public organs are already tackling, very actively and genuinely, questions connected with the preservation, restoration, and propaganda of our whole historical and cultural inheritance.

"We have quite a few examples of this. For example, I was recently in the Vologda area. I advise you to go there. It is full of amazing monuments of the Russian North. Really, creations on a world level. I noticed there the great concern—despite all the complications and difficulties, especially in Vologda and Velikiy Ustyug—to preserve all their links with previous generations. We have now given them very solid help. We have set up big scientific units, set up two large museum sites of history and culture, and will continue to help. Masterpieces, I'm telling you, of world art. It is an area still far from the roads of civilization. In time, millions will go there. Even now, people fly there from Moscow to look at these creations of the hands and minds of mankind." The video cuts from Ligachev to show shots of some monuments.

Against a film of the sights of Gorkiy, Sinitsyn speaks in general terms about the proposals made at the Gorkiy meeting, the past, and about figures such as Pushkin and Gorkiy and their connections with the town.

The video then returns to the meeting, where poet Yu Adrianov—identified by a screen caption—calls for Archpriest Avvakum to be remembered in his homeland, and for his museum to be renovated.

Ligachev responds: "We've had a whole series of specific questions raised. It's hard for me to judge. But I think the idea of an old town quarter is very interesting. Where I used to work we also had the same idea, and it is being implemented as, for example, in Ulyanovsk. A whole

area of the old city. It's excellent. You can just feel the atmosphere of that time. I think you have the same idea, and I hope you'll simply implement it. That's a good idea you have about perpetuating the memory of Gorkiy and Pushkin, and Avvakum. I support this fully. As for a monument for Avvakum, I promise to investigate this problem seriously and to give you an answer."

K. Shikhov, an artist—identified by a screen caption—says: "The powers-that-be in our large enterprises completely disregard and do not include in their practical activity educational work, aesthetic teaching, or questions of culture, so today all our slogans about the role of culture, literature and so on, are so far still only declarations. Only declarations. If the powers-that-be are not aware that without these questions it is impossible to raise production, to raise industry, to raise the economy, we will simply get nothing done. It's probably exactly the same with the question of cultural monuments."

Ligachev replies: "We have come up against instances where party and soviet organs and our historical monument preservation societies have been doing their work very narrowly, secretively, and without an extensive aktiv, not bringing in trade union and Komsomol organizations, the creative unions, and scientific organizations, and without cooperation with many public groups. We think that this is wrong. We think that spontaneous [samodeyatelnyy] principles ought to prevail in this society, and in general, in all public organizations, which are, as a rule, unions of like-minded people. As never before, the people themselves must govern their own affairs, their own organizations. Some comrades are overcome, blinded by urgent problems, and they do not concern themselves with questions that are important today, and doubly so tomorrow. With all responsibility, tell you that the nihilism toward the past, in the last resort, gives rise to just such an incorrect attitude to the present. I would say even more: Here we have some people who have talked themselves into the belief that our society does not have a socialist character.

"I would like to repeat the following: We pay a lot of attention to the issue of preserving and restoring ecclesiastical buildings. This is right, because they too have been created by the people's hands and ideas. But I would like to point your attention—and you know why—also to monuments related to the revolution, the civil war, the Great Patriotic War, and socialist construction. Sometimes our care for them slumps, and in this case we lose on every count, because those monuments, as well as many others, have great ideological import." The video then cuts to Sinitsyn, who describes various items in which memory of heroic revoltuionary events has been preserved.

Ligachev continues: "After the Great Patriotic War, during which Hitlerite troops destroyed and looted everything that was of value in the sphere of art and culture, we managed, despite enormous devastation, to restore thousands, tens of thousands of towns and villages, and entire historical and architectural ensembles. You yourselves could give innumerable examples, and I will name but a few: Leningrad and its surroundings, for which our restorers were deservedly awarded the Lenin Prize; the village of Mikhaylovskoye; Yasnaya Polyana; Novgorod; you could extend this list considerably. In this connection I would like to emphasize once again the idea that it is very important to attract our young people to this truly patriotic and mass movement aimed at preserving historical and cultural monuments."

Ye. Kotomashvili, a student brigade leader—identified by caption—complains about the bad organization of restoration work, noting that restoration workshops are not prepared to provide work for students, who are most willing to help. The video cuts to Ligachev, who says: "I am on your side." A voice from the audience is heard to say "Thank you." Ligachev continues: "That is the voice of the young generation. I must tell you, straight, this makes me feel bitter. Is it impossible to put this issue right? The interaction between restoration sectors and construction brigades should be set right so that this work is done not in passing, so to speak, but in earnest and in a positive way. The young want to help—they should be given assistance to do so. The principle of young folk doing just odd jobs is in evidence here. But the young cannot work like that now. Times have changed. Please, look into this. I would even ask you to report on this to me later. I think that our comrades will take this matter under special control.

"Concerning the Restoraton Committee. Yes, I know, at the conference on the issues of restorations, or, to be more precise, the issues of assimilating, preserving, and restoring historical and cultural heritage, this issue was raised. Our view has not yet been determined, but I for one think that there is no need for that. In general, we are currently moving toward reducing ministries—we have already abolished five union ministries and cut 30 percent of ministries and departments in republics. Let us look at the matter somewhat differently. How is it done now? As soon as a problem arises, demands to set up a new ministry can be heard. Another problem arises—a committee is expected. What is restoration, I ask you? It is a strictly local matter. How can Moscow control the restoration of historical cultural monuments in, say, Gorkiy Oblast? It is nonsense. Then it will turn into some form of supercentral point, and everybody would be powerless against it. But as it is a local matter, and as we are driving toward creating fully-empowered soviet bodies, then it is a matter for the local soviets."

The video then shows A.V. Vtyurin, deputy chairman of the oblast ispolkom—identified by caption—saying they should rely more on local initiative in restoring monuments. The video then cuts to Sinitsyn interviewing a man who speaks about the bad standard of restoration work in the town. The video cuts back to Shikhov speaking at the meeting about the need to invite everyone to take part in restoration activities, and it then

shows Ligachev, who says: "Monuments are our pride, and also our pain, concern, and worry. Comrades, monuments have been created by the people, by entire generations. How can we pass by and let them perish into oblivion? This, to put it mildly, is simply intolerable. This is our sacred duty to all the generations who have created this material culture. And finally, I would like to express two or three wishes, so to speak. We hold very many discussions on issues related to our historic and literary heritage, and this is very good. But sometimes we drown many issues in talk, simply drown them. There is more than enough talking, comrades. I repeat, I think that discussions, especially on such problems as history, on problems of preserving historical and cultural monuments, and on those of their popularization, are necessary. But very often we reiterate the same things, without getting down to the practical implementation of many ideas. Therefore, I very much like this desire to expand restoration organizations, to reinforce and develop them, and to make the cause of preserving historical and cultural monuments practically efficient. This is very important. It must be admitted that many individuals have appeared in our country whom the people aptly describe in the following manner: A violin in words, and a balalayka in deeds. Practical results are very important to us now, including in such an important sphere as the preservation of historical and cultural monuments."

Sinitsyn concludes by summing up the program and recalling Lenin's call to preserve historical monuments.

Vorotnikov Addresses RSFSR Trade Session
LD3008222788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Today an expanded session of the Collegium of the Ministry of Trade of the Russian Federation was held. The question of urgent measures for improving trade services to the population was examined. There was critical analysis of the present state of affairs in this field and serious shortcomings were revealed in the work of institutions of trade and public catering. It was noted that the industry is slow to restructure work and its standard is behind present-day requirements.

At the session there was also discussion of strengthening the material and technical base of trade, further improving the economic mechanism, and increasing commodity resources and utilizing them more rationally. Special attention was given to questions of raising standards of service to the population and improving work with cadres. Speaking at the session was Comrade Vorotnikov.

Baklanov Visits Science Institute, Comments
LD2608225888 Moscow TASS in English 2120 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 26 TASS—How to increase scientists' contribution to perestroyka? This was discussed here today when secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Oleg Baklanov visited high temperatures institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. This institute is one of the country's leading for the solution of fundamental and applied tasks that are decisive for the scientific and technological progress in energetics. The institute's highly qualified collective of researchers has been engaged over the recent years in scopeful work for the use of renewable sources of energy, for obtaining synthetic motor fuel from coal, in the studies of high temperature energy processes. Research into the area of magnetohydrodynamic transformation of energy made it possible to receive high results in the area of low-temperature plasma physics, magnetohydrodynamics, applied super-conductivity. Special attention is given to the solution of ecological problems.

O. Baklanov familiarized himself with the institute's work. A comprehensive approach to the solution of scientific and technological problems was noted. The institute's very structure is aimed at this. Alongside scientific sections, the institute includes a design office, a pilot-scale production and an experimental complex. This makes it possible to get fundamental results and also to create samples of new equipment, including a unique gas-dynamic laser for metallurgy, a number of heat generators and other equipment.

During conversations with scientists, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee pointed out that the collective's possibilities enable it to achieve more. Considerable amount of obsolete equipment still exists in the pilot production at the institute. The level of the computerization of research is insufficient. There are delays in creating new facilities. The ways of enhancing scientists' contribution to perestroyka, increasing the efficiency of the institute's work, making its ties with the industry stronger and more specific, developing cost-accounting relations were discussed. The institute's collective should get involved more vigorously in the solution of burning national economic tasks, should be determined to get real practical results in keeping with the spirit of the times.

'Calendar of Political Renewal' Published
PM3108111088 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 34, 21 Aug 88 p 8

["Calendar of Political Renewal"]

[Text] 1988

September-

October: Electoral party meetings at primary party organizations.

October: Drafts of the Law on Changes and Additions to the USSR Constitution; the Law on Election of Peoples Deputies of the USSR offered for nationwide discussion.

October-

November: District, city and area election party conferences.

November: Plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee to complete the preparation of the proposals to be discussed by the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

November: Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Consideration by the deputies, on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, of the question on the tasks of improving the pattern and activities of organs of state power and justice. Discussion and proposals by the session of draft laws on amendments to the USSR Constitution, connected with the implementation of the reform of the political system, renewal of the existing electoral system and restructuring of the activities of the courts.

November-

December: Regional and territorial party conferences.

Before the year is out: reorganization of the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee and local party organs; restructuring of the apparatus in keeping with the party's functions in modern conditions, with considerable reduction of the work force.

By the start of next year: preparation of materials on questions of improving inter-ethnic relations in the USSR, discussion of these at a CPSU Central Committee Plenary Meeting.

1989

Preparation of the draft Law on Local Self-Government and Local Economy.

March: Elections of people's deputies of the USSR.

April: Convocation of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR to elect the USSR Supreme Soviet and decide other questions of shaping all-union state organs.

The beginning of work at the USSR Supreme Soviet on draft laws on the youth, on the rights of trade unions, on voluntary societies, organs of independent societies and other self-organized associations, and on the press. By the middle of the year: transfer to implementation of court reform, restructuring of the activities of public procurator's offices, of arbitration, investigation organs, of the Bar, of legal work in the economy, work on improving the Criminal Code.

Autumn: Elections to Republican and local Soviets.

December: The new Republican and local organs of state power start to fulfill their duties.

PRAVDA Assails Churbanov's Career, Tactics

PM3008150088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Aug 88 Second Edition p 6

[G. Ovcharenko and A. Chernenko report: "The Son-in-Law and His Cousins: Chronicle of a 'Brilliant' Career"—boldface as published]

[Text] Suddenly we admitted to each other that writing about this man is boring. That he was made into a "personality" because of rumors and myths, his unusual family position, and his membership in the upper echelons of power.

He liked to eat and drink well, sleep in, get mildly drunk again the next day, show off his powerful physique, and engage in moderation (and without moderation) in brawls. Perhaps the exceptionally good health of this high-ranking, dark-haired, fine specimen of a man could be the subject of research. All his actions were determined not so much by the scale of his personality as by the cunning and power-seeking of the scoundrels who made use of him....

But!

He wore the shoulder straps of a colonel general. He was a candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy. Ultimately he influenced the legal policy of the state, as USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs.

Yes, we are talking about Yu. Churbanov.

...Sh. Rashidov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, rocked gently in the back seat of the shiny limousine that sped him to the airport. Everything had been prepared there to greet the high-ranking guest. Sharaf Rashidovich had given orders that he was to be received according to a special etiquette—that reserved for a "head of state." However, the man who emerged from the snow-white airliner onto the ramp was not the president of a friendly country, but a comparatively young man in army uniform, gleaming with the medals of national orders.

Soon after, the motorcade, a supple semicircle, snaked through the streets of Tashkent.... The Central Committee building.... The protruding chins of the hosts as they virtually devoured the guest with their eyes.... And—ovations! They stood to greet him. This tumultuous welcome lasted several minutes.

We have drawn this picture of the reception from dozens of stories. We read it to eyewitnesses, expecting, frankly, a rebuttal—no, it was all rather more modest and simpler. But the reply came:

"But what about the greetings from the pioneers and schoolchildren? And the high-flown speeches enumerating his merits, services, and orders (including the undeserved combat orders)?"

It all happened. And quite recently. It seems only yesterday that a journalist who had written an editorial about the militia for his newspaper came back from seeing Churbanov, livid with outrage:

"I take my text along to consult him, and he crumples it up into a ball and throws it back in my face. We will write it ourselves, he said, you aren't going to print that rubbish."

And they did print the text that Churbanov sent.

Yes, an ordinary man with ordinary abilities, distinguished only by an extraordinary potential and scope. But what a stifling tail was left everywhere by this colorless comet that suddenly appeared on the country's domestic policy horizon! How did it spring up? From what "constellation" did it break away to approach us? What machinery protected it?

"It was neither dream nor reality...," we were told by someone who was a deputy minister of internal affairs at that time. "It was a tense delirium that drained everyone, in which the chimeras of self-interest, careerism, and the ecstasy of power flourished."

Retrospective: Churbanov, Yu.M. ...Before being drafted for military service he worked as a mechanic, graduated from technical school, and continued his labor activity at a plant. From 1959 he was in Komsomol work, as a raykom instructor and Moscow Komsomol Gorkom instructor. From 1961 he served at the MVD: as an instructor for places of imprisonment and assistant chief of the political department of places of imprisonment under the Moscow Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration. He was discharged in August 1964 with the rank of "senior lieutenant of the internal service" in connection with his appointment to work at the Komsomol Central Committee....

People who knew him then describe the young man in a way that comes as a surprise today—"sincere, cheerful, responsible, honest...." But then something seems to slip in unawares: "True, service affairs themselves occupied him little. Yura was more interested in the external aspects of service—a very well-fitting uniform, precise reporting, down to the clicking of heels."

But who, at a young age, is not attracted to that side of military life? The parades, the "spick-and-span" uniform.... But one thing undoubtedly distinguished the young lieutenant—the skill of pleasing the chiefs. He honed this skill to perfection and knew how to anticipate the leadership's most innocent desires and compile a subtly cunning report, a flattering reference. And new times were coming: the times of Brezhnev, when these qualities could pave a way to the "top" for an ambitious young man.

"'Flexible' convictions, the ability to adapt and imitate in any environment.... These qualities of Churbanov's helped him to insinuate himself into the confidence of a number of leaders," we were told by a USSR MVD worker who knew him in the early seventies.

And here is how the portrait of a fully formed careerist and power-seeker was "completed" in the late eighties by the practitioners of corruption involved in the "cotton" cases and others.

"The process of degeneration in the republic was strongly influenced by the USSR MVD leadership, who selected people who suited them personally.... The role of Brezhnev's son-in-law, Churbanov? His word was law for the republican internal affairs organs," we were told in an investigation cell by Ye. Aytmuratov, former secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee. "The reason was that the leadership enjoyed Brezhnev's trust, and his son-in-law was first deputy minister of internal affairs. Rashidov and his entourage, in turn, did everything possible to protect the internal affairs organs from criticism or checks. Many militia workers, from precinct inspectors to the republican minister, went in for extortion as much as they could...."

Retrospective: In 1964-1968 he was an instructor and sector chief at the Komsomol Central Committee Agitation and Propaganda Department, and finished extramural studies at Moscow State University philosophy faculty. In 1964 he divorced his wife, leaving his son....

Only the court has the right to call anyone a criminal. Therefore we are deliberately not recording Churbanov's evidence about the bribes and gifts he received—a confession of guilt is not in itself grounds for a court decision. But even what he has returned to the state is sufficient to illuminate another aspect of this man's moral stance: While not being short of money, he maintained no links with his firstborn son.

Inexplicable.... But we are trying to work on the basis of ordinary human logic. Is it applicable to this case?

Retrospective: In April 1971 Yu.M. Churbanov married citizen G.L. Brezhneva.

When you listen to formerly high-ranking officials behind whom the prison door has clanged shut, you sense the real hatred they feel for their former "deity." Yes, today they anathematize him in unison. But it was they who applauded him when "Churbanov's appearance at a conference at the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee was greeted with tumultuous applause and a standing ovation, and there were similar ovations after his speeches." Maybe the tone was "set by

Sh. Rashidov personally," but they were the ones who clapped! And they were the ones who organized the receptions and the bribes in the form of entertainment.

One senses that today's hatred was dictated by yesterday's faith—which burst like a bubble—in the immutability of the existing situation. "They thought: Churbanov is young. He has an even more dazzling career ahead of him. So they believed in him."

He was not an "informal leader" or a real ringleader—that is obvious today. He is too mediocre for that. It is one thing to arrange things well for yourself, even to don a general's uniform, but another to lead people. And especially to lead a criminal clan. The high-ranking son-in-law did not have the will, the experience, or the capability to do that, as his idolaters of yesterday now assert. But what he did have was power! And Churbanov did not only use it for his own purposes. He was a powerful, penetrating instrument in the hands of more sophisticated people.

Retrospective: After the Komsomol Central Committee, Churbanov came back to the USSR MVD. He was immediately appointed deputy chief of the political department of the USSR MVD corrective labor institutions, with the title of lieutenant colonel of internal service. A year later, skipping over several steps on the service ladder, he became deputy chief of the political directorate of the USSR MVD internal troops. No less rapidly, the title of colonel was conferred on him (early!), and 2 years later that of major general.

We will not concern ourselves with episodes in Churbanov's courtship of and marriage to the "most eligible bride in the country." Whether it was a well thought-out opportunity or sudden love is of no importance. What matters is this: In the years of stagnation the most unexpected circumstances, in particular a lucky marriage, could give power to people who had no intention of using it for the benefit of people and the state. Thus Churbanov, on becoming "the son-in-law," put his energy into resolving exclusively personal problems.

But he felt rather cramped in the capital. At that time some fine professional investigators and specialists from the service for combating embezzlement and speculation were working at the USSR MVD. He felt very uncomfortable among them. So he stepped up all the more rapidly his informal links at regional subunits of the MVD, and especially in Uzbekistan, where, unseen to the world, the deformations had already taken place that enabled Rashidovism to rely on an obliging, corrupt "justice."

Retrospective: In the seventies, the system of overreporting and deceiving the state took root in Uzbekistan's cotton growing and cotton cleaning industry, in pursuit of the plan. A similar situation arose in other sectors in the region. The pyramid of overreporting, bribes, and extortion was based on degenerate law enforcement organs that protected the existing system....

Oh, how they needed him, the local masters of overreporting, intimidation, and political blather. How important it was for them to lure him into their net!

In a few days, Churbanov will be joined in the dock by Kh. Yakhyayev, former republican minister of internal affairs, his former deputies P. Begelman and T. Kakhramanov, and former oblast administration chiefs S. Sabirov, Kh. Norbutayev, D. Dzhamalov, M. Norov, and Ya. Makhamadzhanov.

Churbanov's "cousins" [kumovya], as he used to call them when he was in a good mood. They are only a few of the legion of degenerates who inflicted on the republic's political, moral, and economic health a wound that will not soon be healed.

Other "cousins" are the defendants in other cases; yet others have committed suicide. None of the "extras" in the numerous criminal cases existed in isolation. They were all interconnected. The criminal tentacles were interwoven with unusual cunning, and all kinds of components were involved. Economic, law enforcement, frankly criminal.... Rashidovism was built on this bureaucratic and criminal monolith.

But there were honest people, too. Incorruptibles. With inexhaustible courage. In the republic itself. And at the USSR MVD. They had to be neutralized. Or at least removed from those spheres where the influence of corrupt members of Rashidov's entourage was needed. That was why the "son-in-law" was needed.

Rashidov and Churbanov were manifestly different people. The former passed himself off as a writer, an intellectual, and a major political and economic figure. He managed to start his own cult in the republic, wielded enormous power, and in effect squeezed out his political opponents and simply honest workers. He had a substantial material base.

The latter was relatively young and rather brazen, and was only just beginning to acquire a taste for power, privilege, and the pleasures of "moving in the right circles." He was far removed from culture (except that of the table). He saw works of art only from the viewpoint of generally acknowledged popularity or selling price.

The former was a master of intrigue, the latter a new apprentice. But not, let us admit, without ability.

Here is how Kh. Yakhyayev, former Uzbek minister of internal affairs, assesses Churbanov's role:

"It was when Churbanov arrived at the MVD central apparatus that a new, rapid process of degeneration began.... Two-man rule became established at the ministry, with Churbanov virtually running everything. Both Shchelokov [then minister of internal affairs] and Churbanov were bribe-takers, but the former was an educated professional, while the latter had absolutely no idea about the nature of the work and no desire to learn. Not for nothing was he addicted to regimentation and loudmouthed soldiering; he started promoting his favorites and tormenting the professionals with his fault-finding...."

Let us leave aside the judgements on Shchelokov's professionalism. Although, to be fair, let us observe that he did indeed have some experience and ability. But Yakhyayev himself was considered, in the opinion of professionals, to be a top class specialist. But this very fact made both of them still more awesome figures—it is easier for a professional to do what is sometimes simply beyond the powers of an ignoramus. The main thing was that the "son-in-law" began to hold sway in the late seventies.

Retrospective: Thanks to his highly placed father-in-law, in a very short space of time Yu. Churbanov became chief of the internal troops political directorate, then deputy minister, and in early 1980 first deputy minister of internal affairs. In an incredibly short period he gained the title of lieutenant general, and soon after, colonel general.

Yes, it was not merely advantageous, it was vitally necessary for the Rashidov grouping to have such a "friend." They eagerly courted him, tried to satisfy his slightest wish, began whispering the sweetest sounds—"Shchelokov's successor."

Churbanov had every reason to believe in it. He began to force the pace. It really got on his nerves that he was not, after all, number one at the ministry.

Only now do we begin to realize that in the early eighties a duel began between him and Shchelokov. Not so much for the minister's portfolio, as for spheres of influence.

There was, for instance, the "removal" of Yakhyayev—"a Shchelokov man," who received a "weaker" post. His place was taken by "a Churbanov man"—K. Ergashev, whom everyone calls "the hyena." (He committed suicide at the very beginning of the operation by organs of the USSR Prosecutor's Office to impose order in the republic).

It would be all very well if they only broke their own heads in the fight over spheres of influence. But the point is that the fate of dozens of people devoted to the cause and the moral foundations and political basis of law and order were ground in these terrible mills. And the battle took place in Moscow's corridors of power, but heads rolled not only in the USSR MVD, but in other regions too. Churbanov's trips were invariably accompanied by an attempt to place "his" men at the head of regional subunits.

At some point Shchelokov gave way under pressure from his deputy. Apparently a truce was concluded (as a result of which the heads of honest workers rolled once again). One act of the "truce" was Shchelokov's jubilee. On that day he was presented with a costly object that was specially transferred for that purpose from the state repository to the Office for the Trade in Jewelry Articles, Clocks and Watches, and Precious Metals and Stones, for sale. The MVD, in turn, wrote off the purchased bauble as a..."gift for a leader from one of the friendly countries."

A sinister triangle was formed: Rashidov's elite, Ergashev's props, Churbanov's inviolability. Of course, Churbanov left his mark on other regions of the country too, but he found the most fertile soil in Uzbekistan.

Brezhnev's death apparently did not frighten Churbanov. True, he did not expect it to happen so suddenly. But the illusions that his colonel general's straps endowed him with were very well-founded. Especially since his father-in-law's funeral was held with exceptional pomp. And he continued to "function" in the same spirit. That did considerable harm to the socialist rule of law and seriously retarded the process of cleaning up the militia cadres.

The court and only the court will determine the degree of Churbanov's responsibility. It will examine every episode in his "activity," which is recorded in a 110-volume criminal file. We deemed it necessary to analyze not merely Churbanov's career, but a special kind of phenomenon. A phenomenon of the stagnation years, when secrecy prevailed in promotion to the highest posts, when a man was judged not by his practical merits but by his family position and ability to please this or that clan. A phenomenon deeply rooted in the command, bureaucratic, authoritarian style of leadership, thinking, and acting.

The development of glasnost and democracy and the appointment of leaders by election—that is what will help us to avoid Churbanovism and other such phenomena.

Former Komsomol Leader Praises Khrushchev

LD3008153788 Moscow TASS in English 1236 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 30 TASS—Sergey Pavlov, a Soviet Young Communist League leader in the late 1950s and the early 1960s, thinks that Nikita Khrushchev "deserves more kind words than those which have already been said about him."

Today's issue of MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA carries Pavlov's recollections of this Communist Party leader.

"Despite all his major shortcomings which again had been inherited from the Stalinist times—disposition to the absolute and authoritarian rule and weakness for flattery—Khrushchev genuinely wished to change our life for the better. And that called for great courage," Pavlov said.

Pavlov, now Soviet ambassador to Burma, was the head of the Soviet youth organization at the age of 29 and took part in many important events in the life of the country. He was invited to attend the meetings of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat and top party and government leadership.

He emphasized that working with Nikita Khrushchev the youth leaders had a constant feeling that their job was necessary. "The Secretariat of the party Central Committee was very responsive to our initiatives. That made us confident that our cause was right. To work and not be afraid that you will find yourself God knows where for an unexpectedly committed mistake or some wrong step was also very important. It seems to me that the lack of such confidence in some of our people is a big impediment to our perestroyka," Pavlov said.

He recalled how some of the good undertakings of Soviet young people, such as the Movement for the Communist Attitude to Work, were gradually made bureaucratic.

"Khrushchev insisted that the movement for Communist labour be supervised by the YCL and Soviet trade unions. The Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, headed by Viktor Grishin at that time, gave a hostile reception to all unusual and original proposals. Everything was considered in the old bureaucratic manner. There was a lot of red-tape...wage-levelling, formalistic attitudes and the artificial forcing of the results of the competition degenerated this movement in the end."

Touching upon some of today's hotly debated issues, including the role of the apparatus, Pavlov said that, in his opinion, the apparatus was "a great force when it is creative." "Some structural changes should be introduced so that it is made part of our life and not something standing outside or above it," Pavlov said in conclusion.

Chernenko Resident Requests City Name Change

PM3008135188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Letter from V. Maryasov under the "'Off the Record'" rubric: "'People of Chernenko! Let's Give the Motherland....'"]

[Text] Krasnoyarsk Kray—It is interesting what reaction the following placards above a column of demonstrators would have provoked in an outsider: "People of Rashidov! Let's Increase...." or "People of Kunayev! Let's Produce...." You may say that the writer's fantasies are out of place here.

But this is no fantasy. We, the inhabitants of the Siberian village of Sharypova, which had existed for more than 300 years before becoming a city, now bear the name of people of Chernenko. For after the death of one of the engineers of stagnation, our city was renamed Chernenko. So that the banner "People of Chernenko! Let's Give the Motherland...." does not appear over the holiday parade, could our city perhaps be given its own name back as quickly as possible?

Historian on Attitude Toward Ukraine's Hrushevskyy

AU3008143888 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 27 Aug 88 p 2

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor V. Sarbey, chief of the History of Capitalism Department in the Institute of History under the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences "On the Occasion of Some Incompetent Publications": "What Attitude Should We Assume Toward M. Hrushevskyy?"]

[Excerpts] The wise Leninist behest that socialist culture has to be built with the obligatory utilization of the reserves of knowledge accumulated by mankind in the past centuries emerges from the bottom on one's memory again and again. This notwithstanding, in the times which we now call the periods of the personality cult and of stagnation, a significant part of materials published and manuscripts written before the Great October Revolution found themselves in special—inaccessible to the wide masses—deposits of libraries and archives. This was also the fate of the works written by M.S. Hrushevskyy, the Ukrainian historian (1866-1934) renowned worldwide, and this fact has caused Philistine legends to grow, alleging that he the historian, a Soviet academician, was another victim of unfair insinuations on the part of the Stalinists.

In our times when these works have again become accessible to the wide reading public, it is very important to provide reliable methodological guidelines which enable any reader to realize what and with whom he is dealing. It is perhaps the first and foremost task to create, so to speak, Hrushevskyy's historical profile characterizing the concept on which his works are based. It goes without saying that this job has first of all to be well done, and this cannot be said about the initial material published in our times. Here I have in mind the article on Hrushevskyy written by Candidate of Philological Sciences S. Bilokin, whose field of expertise is not history but literary criticism. The article was published recently in LITERATURNA UKRAINA, a newspaper which has recently become, unfortunately, less exacting both with regard to the truthfulness of its articles and the competence of the authors. This is why the readers of the organ of the Ukrainian Writers Union also received in this case one-sided and perfunctory material. The material was based on half-truths and did not take into account all the aspects—and occasionally controversial facts—concerning Hrushevskyy's life and activity, and

in addition disregarded the Marxist-Leninist methodological principles of adherence to the party spirit and historicism in evaluating his personality and creative heritage.

Indeed, is it not strange? [passage omitted]

Therefore, one must not hush up either the bourgeois nationalist essence of Hrushevskyy's historical concept, nor his political activity in the ranks of the bourgeois liberal Ukrainian "National Democratic Party" in Galicia, in the "Society of Progressive Ukrainians" (Ukrainian constitutional democrats) within the Czarist State Council, and then again in the Ukrainian Social Revolutionary Party restored after the second Russian revolution, an activity hostile to the revolutionary movement of the working people headed by Lenin's party. [passage omitted]

Quite a few of Hrushevskyy's works will now be useful to the scholar, student, or simply the reader interested in the history of the Ukraine. And since these works are freely obtainable in libraries, we can, in our opinion, make another step forward to raise the question of reprinting some of them. In particular, it would be possible to reprint some volumes of "The History of the Ukraine-Rus", as well as, in separate thematic editions, "Kievan Rus", "The History of Ukrainian Cossacks in the 15-17th centuries", and "The Liberation War Waged by the Ukrainian People Against Poland of the Magnates and Nobility" (before the October Revolution, the author produced such thematic editions himself). It would be possible to reprint items from journals and scientific collections (published both before the October Revolution and under Soviet rule) and to issue in separate volumes some research monographs and articles, as well as valuable documentary materials drawn from archives abroad and published in the several volumes of "Sources for the History of the Ukraine." [passage omitted]

Everything that has been said shows that Soviet historians have no reasons to review their general critical attitude toward Hrushevskyy's creative heritage, or to renounce their critical evaluation of his historical thinking along with the erroneous bourgeois-nationalist and idealistic theses within this concept. They are even more critical in their attitude toward Hrushevskyy's entire political activity objectively preconditioned by the class interests of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie. This particularly applies to the period when Hrushevskyy held the post of the president of the Ukrainian Central Council. After all, it was under his presidency that the council in its fourth public proclamation declared war against Soviet Russia. For this reason S. Bilokin's attempt to whitewash Hrushevskyy and to put the blame for this anti-Soviet act on...Trotskiy seems to be completely futile and very naive.

At the same time the enormous wealth of actual material accumulated in Hrushevskyy's historical works has to be thoroughly and critically scrutinized and synthetized on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist methodology, and it must be utilized to maximal extent both in science and education. In addition to reprinting Hrushevskyy's most valuable works, it would be certainly advisable to prepare and publish a collection of articles or a research monograph to elucidate Hrushevskyy's life and to thoroughly scrutinize his historical concept as a whole, particularly at the successive stages of the historical process in the Ukraine. Restructuring, which has widely developed in our country, calls for an attentive attitude, not shown until recently, toward the utilization of the entire scientific and cultural heritage obtained by the Soviet people from the period before the Great October Revolution.

Scientific

Soviet-Afghan Space Flight Continues

Work Proceeds 'Smoothly'

LD3008170088 Moscow TASS in English 1640 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 30 TASS—TASS reports from the Flight Control Centre:

The 24 hours of the space mission of the Soviet-Afghan crew passed successfully and strictly according to the programme. The monitoring of systems of the Soyuz TM-6 spaceship and checkup of tightness of its bays carried out during the three after-firing revolutions showed that its units are operating without deviations, and everything is going smoothly.

The first manoeuvre was carried out between the fourth and fifth revolutions, and the ship switched to a higher orbit. Then it started overtaking the Mir complex which is still ahead on the course. Then cosmonauts were asleep. Today the second manoeuvre of initial rendezvous was performed between the 17th and 18th revolutions, and the crew helped by commands from the earth got down directly to preparing for docking with the Mir station, which is scheduled for the morning of August 31.

A new figure flashes up on light electronic panels of the Flight Control Centre every 90 minutes: Another revolution was made by the crew which had taken aboard flags of the two countries. Every revolution brings them closer to a meeting with Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov. Millions of people in the Soviet Union and Afghanistan wish them many a success in fulfilling the programme.

'Mir' Awaits Crew

LD3008172388 Moscow TASS in English 1712 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 30 TASS—By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova:

The spaceship Soyuz TM-6 carrying a Soviet-Afghan crew is to dock with the orbiting platform Mir at 9 hours 50 minutes Moscow time Wednesday.

The crew, consisting of Commander Vladimir Lyakhov of the USSR, his compatriot physician Valeriy Polyakov and Afghan research cosmonaut Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad, is being eagerly awaited by the platform's long-time residents Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov who have been in orbit for more than eight months.

The approach and linkup operation this time is being conducted over two days, which specialists believe makes it possible to save some energy resources.

Besides, over this time ballistic experts can compute the impulse needed for docking more accurately.

The two-day flight to the platform is more convenient also for cosmonauts since it is not always easy to get down to work even after air travel and the extreme conditions of space make a much greater impact on a human organism.

Medical experts gravitate to the view that a crew will be better adapted to weightlessness after two days and will find it easier to buckle down to work when aboard the platform.

Cosmonauts Comment on Mission

LD3008173588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] The work in orbit by the Soviet-Afghan space crew is in its 2d day. Tomorrow morning their ship should dock with the Mir orbital station, where cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov have been working for 9 months. I have asked our correspondent Leonid Lazarevich to tell us how things are in orbit. Go ahead please:

[Lazarevich] Today's program has been fully carried out. Vladimir Lyakhov, Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad, and Valeriy Polyakov have been preparing for docking. Another maneuver was carried out early in the day and now the ship and station are getting closer. Docking is the most important thing, equally for the Protons, which is the call sign of the international crew, and for the Oceans [call sign for the Mir crew], Titov and Manarov, who for nearly 3 months now have been communicating with people only via television and radio.

Here is an excerpt from one of the communications sessions:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] The Oceans are interested in how things are going for you.

[Lyakhov] Fine, everything is fine. Everything on board is in order.

[Polyakov] As the doctor, I consider things to be fine, dispositions are good, and efficiency is good.

[Unidentified speaker] We are all very glad to hear that.

[Lyakhov] I am flying over my homeland; I am thinking of the Ukraine.

[Unidentified speaker] How is Proton-3 doing? We do not hear him at all.

[Mohmand] This is Proton-3. I am receiving you perfectly. It was also there, in Kiev, that I learned to speak well. [end recording]

[Lazarevich] As you will have gathered, Proton-3 is Mohmand. He studied in Kiev. I should add one more thing: The interest in their disposition here is not incidental, it is very important. The international crew is going through the first and most critical period of adaptation to weightlessness. By now the Protons have gone to bed.

[Announcer] Why so early?

[Lazarevich] Well, it is not early. Their working day is going to begin at 0200 with preparation for the docking. It is going to be a hard day: the final docking stages. Sometime in the morning, about 1000, the docking itself—the most important point in the first stage of the flight—should take place. We are going to report the progress of the docking on the radio in direct relays from mission control.

Linkup With 'Mir' Completed

LD3108082988 Moscow TASS in English 0726 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—The Soyuz TM-6 spaceship docked with the Soviet research complex Mir at 9.41, Moscow time, today.

The international crew consisting of Soviet cosmonauts Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov, Vladimir Lyakhov, Valeriy Polyakov and Afghan cosmonaut Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad began to implement joint research and experiments.

The program for the work of the Soviet-Afghan crew on board the orbital complex Mir is intended for six days and includes geophysical and medico-biological research.

The cosmonauts are to carry out a large amount of visual observation and photography of the territory of the Republic of Afghanistan with a view to solving various tasks pertaining to science and the national economy of the country. It is planned, in particular, to photograph Afghanistan's high-mountain and difficult-of-access areas which are of interest from the viewpoint of prospecting for minerals, identifying areas fit for land development, and evaluating seismic conditions of the territory.

A distinguishing feature of medico-biological experiments to be performed during the joint flight is direct participation of a researcher physician in them.

Following the accomplishment of the joint research program, Vladimir Lyakhov and Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad will return to the earth in the Soyuz TM-5 spaceship while Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov and Valeriy Polyakov will continue their work in the near-earth orbit.

According to the results of radio talks with the crew, the cosmonauts are feeling well.

The onboard systems and scientific equipment of the manned complex Mir are functioning normally.

Gorbachev, Najibullah Greet Joint 'Mir' Crew

LD3108091088 Moscow TASS in English 0859 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—The Soviet cosmonauts and the Afghan researcher-cosmonaut addressed a telegram to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and General Secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee Najibullah. The crew of the orbital research complex Mir including Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov, Vladimir Lyakhov, Valeriy Polyakov and Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad reported that the international Soviet-Afghan crew have started implementing the programme of joint scientific-technical and medical-biological research and experiments.

In his telegram of greetings to the cosmonauts Mikhail Gorbachev wished success to the international crew and noted that the flight had convincingly demonstrated the versatility of Soviet-Afghan cooperation and opened up a new spectacular chapter in the history of relations between the two countries, in developing and strengthening friendship between the Soviet and Afghan peoples.

President Najibullah of Afghanistan also addressed a telegram of greetings to the cosmonauts. He noted in the telegram that the joint Soviet-Afghan space flight is a milestone in the cooperation between the two countries. Not only in the joint fight for sovereign, independent and non-aligned Afghanistan, but also in the peaceful exploration of outer space the Soviet and Afghan peoples demonstrate for the whole world to see their solidarity and firm striving for cooperation.

Afghan Communications Minister on Space Flight

LD3008144788 Moscow TASS in English 1418 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 30 TASS—The first flight of an Afghan citizen into space is of special political, economic and scientific importance for Afghanistan, said Afghan Communications Minister Muhammad Aslam Watanjar. Today he spoke at the Press Center of the USSR Foreign Ministry at a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists, devoted to the joint Soviet-Afghan space mission. The Afghan cosmonaut, together with his two Soviet counterparts, embarked on his space mission on Monday.

The flight is going on under conditions when the Geneva accords are being materialized in Afghanistan, and the policy of national reconciliation is being translated into life. This policy is aimed at stopping the war and bloodshed in the country, said the minister.

He told the press conference that Najibullah, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and president of the Republic, had proposed that a bilateral ceasefire be declared in the country during the joint Soviet-Afghan space mission. Asked why the forces of opposition did not respond to the call, the minister said: "The flight of an Afghan citizen in space is an event evoking pride of all Afghan people, irrespective of whether they are at home or beyond the country's borders. Those who rejected a ceasefire, do not have feelings of national pride".

Correction to Report on Start of Space Flight

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Details on Start of Soviet-Afghan Space Flight" published in the 30 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 36-37:

Page 36, column two, paragraph one, line four should read: "...of his comrade Muhammed Dauran. Both studied in the USSR, served in Afghanistan's Air Force, defended the revolution. Muhammed Dauran's father..." (supplying additional sentence)

'Cosmos-1966' Satellite Launched 30 Aug

LD3108080388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0730 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow, 31 Aug (TASS)—Another artificial earth satellite, Cosmos-1966, was launched in the Soviet Union by a Molniya launch vehicle on 30 August 1988.

The satellite carries a scientific apparatus for continuing space research.

The satellite has been placed in orbit with the following parameters:

Initial period of revolution—11 hours 48 mins;

Maximum distance from earth's surface (apogee)—39,299 km;

Minimum distance from earth's surface (perigee)—617 km;

Orbital inclination—62.6 degrees.

In addition to the scientific apparatus, the satellite carries a radio system for the precise measurement of orbital elements and a radiotelemetry system for transmitting data to earth about the work of the instruments and scientific apparatus.

The apparatus aboard the satellite is working normally.

The coordinating and computing center is processing the incoming information.